V. V. BARTHOLD

# FOUR STUDIES ON THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN

BY

V. AND T. MINORSKY

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# FOREWORD BY THE TRANSLATOR

Barthold (1869-1930) was a great historian of the Muslim East and a remarkable personality. In the obituary notice of the London *Times* (26th August, 1930) he was called "the Gibbon of Turkestan". This epithet stresses the importance of Barthold's researches on the vast area extending from the Caspian to Mongolia and China, but, even outside it, and apart from it, there are many branches of Islamic history on which he has left his impress. He wrote a 'Historical Geography of Iran', a 'History of Oriental Studies in Western Europe and in Russia', a study of the two pillars of the Islamic state 'The Caliph and the Sultan', and several books on Islam and Islamic culture, to say nothing of a host of important articles on varied subjects of Islamic culture, history and geography [1], biographical notices [2] and reviews of new books, some of which are veritable gems of acumen and learning [3]. The list of Barthold's works contains over four hundred items, and it can be confidently said that none of his writings has lost its utility and interest, in the light of later research.

Barthold was born in St. Petersburg in 1869 and belonged to a well-to-do family of German origin. His Christian name was Wilhelm, but he readily acquiesced in its Russianised form "Vasily Vladimirovich". Russian was Barthold's mother-tongue and he himself acknowledged the help of the friends who checked the German of his first articles written for a foreign audience [4].

[1] Among them are his articles in Russian encyclopedias, and especially in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden).

[2] R. Dozy, I. Goldziher, Baron V. Rosen, F. Hirth, K. Salemann etc.

[3] See in particular his reviews of the works of Chavannes, Blochet and Marquart.

[4] Some light on Barthold's Russian roots is shed by a passage in his autobiography (*Ogonyok*, 2 Oct. 1927) in which he stresses the fact that after 1917 neither he, nor his brothers "emigrated, or tried to save their fortunes". After 1917 Barthold paid several visits to England, Germany and Turkey.

He studied at the University of St. Petersburg where he himself began to lecture in 1896. In 1912 he was elected member of the Russian Academy and held this post till his death on 19 August 1930. His very close connections with the University and the Academy were reflected even in his family ties, for he married a sister of the well-known Persian scholar V. A. Zhukovsky (1858-1918), whose other sister was married to Prof. N. Y. Marr (1864-1934).

Barthold was a stern-looking man of Socratic appearance and students feared his sarcasm above all things, but "off stage" he was capable of devoted friendship and was the first to encourage ta'ent and enterpsise. It was only when attempts were made to pass off amateurish views as unconditional truths, that Barthold refused to compromise and would ruthlessly tear such flimsy constructions to pieces. He spread around him a salutary awe, and many an Orientalist in preparing a new article thought: "what will Barthold say to it?" The present writer once had to compile, in great haste, a bibliography of the great German scholar J. Marquart (1864-1930), with whom Barthold had long-standing divergencies of views. On seeing the list published, Barthold was apparently so displeased with the few inadvertent omissions, that he even forgot to sign the personal letter in which he gave vent to his criticism. It was an excellent lesson, and I immediately recast my list, which has now received the blessings of Marquart's pupils and biographers.

As time wore on, Barthold became mellowed by age and experience. "Perhaps you are right: with me the negative aspect of things is sometimes expressed more strongly than I would like it to be, and this dims the recognition of the merit where merit there is... It is a source of regret to me that my article on N. I. Veselovsky... in which I wished to say of my teacher all good I could, has been understood as wholesale and excessive vituperation" (letter of 2nd July 1929).

In addition to his many bodily infirmities, Barthold broke his leg on his very first expedition to the Semirechyé (1893). He returned for treatment to Tashkent, but in the following spring set out, nothing daunted, to complete his tour. His curiosity and

thirst for knowledge overcame any other consideration. One day he declared to his young nephew Y. Marr: "Come with me to see America", and off they sailed to New York. Barthold worked for long periods in many European libraries, as well as in those of Istanbul and Cairo, each time carefully recording the results of his studies and discoveries. Nearly every year he made a pilgrimage to Turkestan, where he knew every scholar, every private collection of manuscripts, and even every single rare book. One of Barthold's memorable achievements was to arouse the interest in local history and antiquities among Russian and Muslim scholars, officials, teachers, doctors and engineers. He became the organising link of this army of explorers. He corresponded with all, wrote readily in local papers and investigated the special problems which might be of interest to the men on the spot [1]. The Introduction to his *History of the Semirechyé* (see below p. 73) is the best witness to his aims and practice.

Barthold was a scholar in all three "Muslim languages" — Arabic, Persian and Turkish, and published texts in them [2] but his fundamental characteristic was that he was not an "Oriental philologist" making inroads into history, but a "historian" equipped with Oriental languages. In his articles, especially of his later period, one can see how well read he was in general historical literature, and how at home he felt in discussing such problems as migrations, feudalism, or Charlemagne's correspondence with the Caliph. There was nothing "second hand" in Barthold; a true historian, he had grown up from his sources, supplementing their range every year. No sooner was Kāshghari's dictionary of mediaeval Turkish discovered in Turkey during the first world war, than, in the midst of the Russian revolution, Barthold read through the bulky work in difficult Arabic and extracted from it all the historical references. And so he proceeded with every new source brought to light, every new geographical exploration, every new archaeological discovery. The

[1] For example, a study of the different courses which the Oxus followed in historical times and a masterly history of *Irrigation in Turkestan.*

[2] The Russian original of his *Turkestan* is accompanied by two hundred pages of very difficult Oriental texts edited for the first time.

Oriental sources may have been dry, but Barthold ever kept an eye on the influence of economic factors, institutions, trade routes, art and other elements of general importance. Very illuminating in this respect are the "fifteen theses" advanced by Barthold in his dissertation on "Turkestan at the epoch of the Mongol invasion" (see below pp. 69-72).

In 1928 this "epoch-making" book was translated into English [1] in the Gibb Memorial series, under the auspices of Prof. H. A. R. Gibb and Sir D. Ross, who in his early years had attended Barthold's courses in St. Petersburg. A short book by Barthold on Islamic culture was translated from the Russian by Dr. Shahid Suhrawardy in Calcutta (1934). Other works have been translated into French, German, Arabic and Persian. Three bibliographies of Barthold's works have appeared, two of them in German and one in Russian [2], and before the last war German scholars had begun actively translating and assimilating Barthold's works and even his scattered materials [3].

All his life Barthold maintained his independent views on scholarly problems. In the pre-revolution days he created some stir by his utterances [4] on the slow rhythm of Oriental studies in

[1] Under the improved title of ᶜTurkestan down (sic) to the Mongol invasionᵒ.

[2] Umnyakov, in *Bull. de l'Université de l'Asie Centrale,* fasc. 14, 1926, 175-202 (the same author has now prepared an extensive analytic bibliography of Barthold); Milius Dostojevskij, in *Die Welt des Islams,* XII/3, May 1931, pp. 91-135; T. Menzel, in *Der Islam,* XXI, 238-242, XXII, 144-61.

[3] See Hinz, *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der Timuriden* (ZDMG, 80/2, 1936, pp. 357-98), which for the most part gives a resumé of Barthold's articles.

[4] See his *History of Oriental Studies.* The late Prof. M. Hartmann (Berlin) in his review of the book tried to attenuate Barthold's conclusions. Barthold's later views are reflected in the following quotations: "(Kampfmeyer's article on Kratchkovsky) shows that the activities of Russian scolars are no longer lost on the West as they used to be formerly" (letter of 2 August 1927). Then referring to his views on certain Western European books he remarks: "once again these reviews will show that in the field of Oriental studies we are not so far behind the West" (letter of 21 December 1928).

Russia; he withdrew from the editing board of the *Mir Islama* (founded by himself) as soon as he felt that adventitious elements had begun to lower its standards. After the revolution, some of his views (on feudalism) provoked sharp remarks in the *Novy Vostok,* but they left Barthold unruffled. Even at the time when the outlook was very obscure and complicated, Barthold took the far-sighted attitude of a historian and philosopher which is reflected in the conclusion of his essay ʿMir Ali Shirʾ (see below p. XIII).

Barthold's authority always stood high. After the revolution of 1917, there was a period of acute nationalism among the peoples of Turkestan who eagerly asserted the principle of "We, ourselves" in every matter, including the reform of their alphabets. Yet even in those days the Turkmans and the Qirghiz officially requested Barthold to write for them the histories of their communities. At the invitation of the new government of Mustafa Kemal, Barthold delivered in Istanbul a course of lectures on the history of the Turks, and their text was first published in Turkish [1].

The loss of his wife, who was his devoted companion and helper, was a hard blow to Barthold, especially at a period when demand was growing for his teaching and writings. "There was no interruption in my usual work: I had to return to it almost immediately after the funeral" (letter of 16 May 1928). "Never in my life have I worked harder than nowadays", he wrote in another of his letters. After the revolution the unique manuscript of the Persian geography *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (written in A.D. 982) had left Russian soil but the present writer succeeded in re-directing it from Paris to Petrograd. Barthold's last big work was the publication of its *facsimile,* with a remarkable introduction on Muslim geographers. It is written with the perfect mastery of a scholar who sums up the facts carefully collected

[1] At a historical congress held in Istanbul (in 1932) some entirely irresponsible remarks were heard about this book, but it is much more characteristic that in 1937 a Turkish scholar (an emigré from Russia) honoured Barthold's memory by dedicating his book to him as his teacher and friend.

during a long and strenuous career, but Barthold did not live to greet it in its printed form [1].

Among the obituary notices dedicated to Barthold, one written by P. Pelliot merits special attention. The most renowned of modern French Orientalists (d. 26 October 1945) wrote [2]: "tant par l'étendue des connaissances que par la pénétration et la netteté de l'esprit critique, l'œuvre de Barthold est d'une solidité et d'une variété exceptionnelles. Ce grand savant laisse vide une place que nul n'est préparé à occuper comme lui. Et il vaut peut-être de rappeler que, par la loyauté, le désinteressement et le courage, l'homme fut chez lui à la hauteur du savant."

The four monographs out of Barthold's legacy, which are now presented in translation, have been selected so as to illustrate the general course of history in Turkestan and the Semirechyé. It is necessary to bear in mind that in the present edition, the studies are printed in the chronological order of their contents, and not of their composition. Moreover, the dates of each of the four works are separated by considerable periods of time and each study contains some repetition of certain facts, which, in a slightly different sequence, are referred to in the three others. To recast the essays so as to eliminate the repetitions would be inadvisable, as each of the surveys would lose its special logic. Besides, in view of the peculiarities of Barthold's condensed style (see below), it is in the interest of the readers to see the facts presented in fuller detail and without constant references to the other parts of the collection.

The position will be much clearer if we take up the purport of each of the essays separately.

I. *A short history of Turkestan,* published in Tashkent in 1922, is a syllabus of the lectures delivered by Barthold at the newly founded University of Turkestan in 1920-1. As such, it contains very few foot-notes and is more popular in character

[1] The book was published by the Soviet Academy towards the end of 1930. Barthold's ᶜIntroductionᵓ will be found in English in my translation of the *Ḥudūd al-ᶜālam* (Gibb Memorial series, 1937).

[2] *Tᶜoung Pao* 1930, No. 4-5, pp. 458-9.

than its companions. This essay is entirely different from Barthold's well-known dissertation "Turkestan at the time of the Mongol invasion" (published in 1900). In a very concise form, the Short History covers a much longer period, from time immemorial down to the Russian conquest, and, in view of its encyclopedic nature, it forms a useful introduction to the whole series. In order to underline some points of general interest, it has been thought useful to give in the Appendix the so-called "theses" advanced by Barthold in his dissertation. In these fifteen points Barthold has summed up all his main conclusions, and their translation will be welcome both to the readers of the present collection of essays and the students of his *Turkestan,* published in an English translation in 1928.

II. *A History of the Semirechyé* was published in Verny (now Alma-ata) in 1893, seven years before Barthold had submitted his thesis on *Turkestan.* This very early work, written over half-a-century ago, remains, as it is, unique in that it systematizes the little-known events on a territory lying between Turkestan proper and Western Siberia. *Semirechyé* is the Russian translation of the local Turkish term *Jiti-su* "the Seven Rivers", and *grosso modo* covers the basins of the two great lakes, Issik-kul and Balkhash, with the addition of some areas in the West. The territories of the former Semirechyé are now divided between the Soviet republics of Qazakhstan and Qirghizistan. In his *Turkestan* Barthold often refers his readers to the *History of the Semirechyé* but even in Russian the book was unobtainable until quite recently when it was reprinted in the capital of the Qirghiz republic (Frunze, 1943) under the supervision of Dr. A. N. Bernstam, the present-day explorer of local antiquities. In re-transcribing Chinese names I have had much help from [the late] Prof. G. Haloun (Cambridge).

III. *Ulugh-beg,* written in 1915 and published in 1918, is a good sample of Barthold's painstaking methods of historical investigation. This monograph fits into the general scheme traced in the first two essays and picks up the thread of events where *Turkestan* has left it, at the Mongol invasion. In the light of all the genuine sources and with all the accuracy of modern research,

the monograph of Ulugh-beg throws a new light on a considerable period of the history of the Timurids (*circa* A.D. 1400-1450), in the thick of Central Asian troubles.

IV. *Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr* is the latest in date of our collection. It appeared in 1928 in a volume published by the Soviet Academy to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the birth of the well-known statesman and writer who lived and worked at the court of the last important Timurid of Central Asia. If the story of *Ulugh-beg* centres round Samarqand, that of *Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr* centres round Herat, in the North-Western corner of present-day Afghanistan. This equally detailed monograph represents the second land-mark in the destinies of Tamerlane's descendants (*circa* A.D. 1450-1500).

Barthold is not an easy writer to read, still less to translate. The author makes few attempts to render the spiritual food more digestible by means of repetitions or of a slight watering down of the facts, and on the part of the student the text requires a constant concentration. The translators have tried to do their best by shortening and simplifying the heavier constructions, but they did not feel themselves entitled to re-write the original under the pretext of producing "more fluent English". This might have amounted to changing the author's purpose.

The four monographs are full of difficult Oriental names and words, Turkish, Mongolian, Chinese, Arabic and Persian. The established system of transcription in the first two languages is phonetic, whereas in the last three it more or less follows the native script so as to enable a scholar to put the transliteration back into the original garb. In the present publication, care has been taken not to complicate the text with too many diacritical signs. Well-known names of persons and places have been quoted in their familiar form (Muhammad, cadi, Isfahan). For the title *Khwāja* I have adapted the Central-Asian pronunciation *Khoja*. In more difficult cases, an accurate transcription has been used when the name appears for the first time, and after that only occasionally, by way of reminder. At the risk of being suspected of inconsistency, the translators have tried to spare the eyes of the readers any unnecessary fatigue. The references in Oriental

languages which Barthold gives in his foot-notes have been translated or explained in English.

*Cambridge, 25 December 1947.* V. MINORSKY

P.S. For certain technical reasons, it has been decided to publish the first two essays as a separate volume, to be followed by the two books on *Ulugh-beg* and *Mīr ʿAlī Shīr*.

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

*AR* — ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, *Matlaᶜ al-saᶜdayn,* MSS. Leningrad University, No. 157 [published by M. Shafīᶜ, Lahore 1941 and 1949].

Aristov — *Zametki ob etnicheskom sostave turkskikh plemen,* in *Zhivaya starina,* 1896, III-IV, 277-456.

Babur, *Babur-nāma* facsimile, ed. Annette Beveridge, *GMS,* 1905. [Turkish transcription and translation by R. Rahmeti Arat, Istanbul 1943-5, 2 vols.]

Barthold, *Turkestan,* Eng. translation, GMS, 1928.

Barthold, *Turkestan,* texts — in vol. I of the Russian original.

Barthold, *Irrigation* — *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana,* SPb. 1914.

Barthold, *Report* — *Otchot o poyezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu v 1893-4,* in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale de St. Pétersbourg,* vol. I, No. 4, 1897.

Barthold, *Semirechyé* — *Ocherk istorii Semirechya,* Pamyatnaya knizhka Semirech. Oblasti, II, 1898 [reprinted (with corrections) in Frunze 1944, with an introduction by A. N. Bernstam.]

*Ḥudūd* — *Ḥudūd al-ᶜĀlam* ("rukopis Tumanskogo"), photographic reproduction and introduction by Barthold, Leningrad 1930; Eng. trans. by V. M'norsky, *GMS,* 1937.

Iakinf — Iakinf Bichurin, *Sobraniye svedeniy o narodakh obitavshikh v Sredney Azii,* SPb. 1851, 3 vols. [New edition, Moscow 1950-3].

*Mujmal* — *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (520/1126), Paris MS. [Printed Tehran 1318/1938.]

d'Ohsson — *Histoire des Mongols,* La Haye 1834-5.

*Qutadghu-bilik,* ed. Radloff, *Das Kudatku Bilik,* SPb. 1891 [new edition by R. Rahmeti Arat, Istanbul 1947].

Rubruquis (Rubruk), ed. *Recueil de voyages* ... publié par la Société de Géographie, t. IV, Paris 1839.

*T.R.* — M. Haydar Dughlat, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī,* trans. by E. D. Ross, 1895.

Veliaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovaniye o kasimovskikh tsaryakh,* 4 vols., St. Petersburg 1863-7.

Waṣṣāf — *Tārīkh,* ed. by Hammer (1st Book), Vienna 1856; Bombay, 1294/1877.

*ZVO* — *Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya,* SPb.

# I. A SHORT HISTORY OF TURKESTAN

## ANCIENT WORLD

Turkestan, the southernmost region of Russia, was the first to be drawn into the cultural exchanges of the ancient world. Our information about the Greek towns of the northern coast of the Black Sea goes still further back, but being foreign colonies, these towns left no durable impress on local cultural life. In Transcaucasia only a few frontier regions could have been affected by the influence of Assyrian culture. Of the Transcaucasian peoples the Armenians alone are mentioned among the subjects of the kings of Persia. At that time they were living mainly outside the limits of present day Russia, in what are now Persian or Turkish territories. The earliest information on the Albanians [1] and Iberians was collected during Pompey's campaigns (first century B.C.).

The ancient population of Turkestan, both sedentary [2] and nomad (the Sakas), belonged to the same Iranian stock as the Persians who founded the first world monarchy in history. The original home of the Iranians remains doubtful. Most of the existing data show that the Iranians, as later the Turks, advanced from East to West and penetrated into Eastern Europe (the Black Sea Scythians) from Central Asia. The remnants of the pre-Iranian population of Persia disappeared at an early date in the North-East, but survived longer in the South-West. It can be reasonably assumed that this population was connected with the so-called "Japhetids" [3], i.e. the non-Semitic population of Hither Asia whose present-day remnants are the Georgians and

[1] [In Armenian sources the *Alvank'*, i.e. the people living on the lower course of the Kur, in the present day Soviet republic of Azarbayjan.]

[2] I.e. the Parthians and Bactrians in the Transcaspian province (the region along the Murghab being reckoned to Bactria), the Khwarazmians on the lower course of the Oxus and the Soghdians on the Zarafshan.

[3] [This term, first proposed by Prof. N. Marr (1864-1934), is obsolete. V. M.]

some other Caucasian peoples. A still unsolved problem is the recently established existence of a "Japhetic" language in Kanjut [1], a province to the south of the Hindukush. It is not clear whether these "Japhetids" were the aborigines of this province or immigrants from the West.

In Western Persia, the Iranians underwent the influence of peoples possessing a written language and a political organisation, both of which they transmitted to their eastern kinsmen. An analogy can be traced between the advance of the Iranians into Hither Asia and the movement of the Germans into the Roman Empire. In the latter case, the Franks became familiar with the idea of an organised state in Gaul, in the West, and brought it with them to Germany, in the East.

In the early stages of the independent cultural life of Central Asia, an outstanding part among the Iranians was played by the people of Khwarazm. Arguments have been lately put forward in favour of a Khwarazmian origin of Zoroastrianism or Mazdeism. Herodotus (III, 117) makes it clear that even before the Persian monarchy was formed, Chorasmia had been the leading political power in Central Asia. This fact would be in keeping with a common historical phenomenon—the initial development of civilisation in regions situated along the lower courses of great rivers, such as the movement of civilisation up the Euphrates and the Nile. At a later time, cultural supremacy passed from Khwarazm to Bactria, where the governors of the Persian Achaemenid kings resided and whence the cultural influence of India radiated abroad.

## GREEKS IN CENTRAL ASIA

Greek information about Central Asia before Alexander the Great is very scanty. The Persian inscriptions of Darius enumerate the provinces conquered by the Persians, but,—except in the cases of Parthia and Bactria,—give no details either about the conquest itself, or about the general events which took place there. We possess, however, "an original and valuable ethnological

[1] [The Burushaski language of Hunza and Nagar can be compared with the Caucasian languages only in certain syntactical constructions. V. M.]

museum" [1] in the bas-reliefs on Darius's tomb which depict representatives of all the nations of his empire, including those of Central Asia, each in their national garb.

Chorasmians and Indians took part in Xerxes's Greek campaign. In Alexander's time, both in Khwarazm and India there were rulers independent of Persia. This fact indicates that in the East the limits of the empire had somewhat receded.

To Alexander's campaigns we owe our earliest geographical notions of Turkestan, but only that part of it which lies between' the Oxus (Amu-Darya) and the Jaxartes (Sïr-Darya), or, more precisely, along the middle reaches of these two rivers. Even in later times, the Greeks had a false idea of the lower courses of these rivers which they regarded as flowing into the Caspian. The cultural development of the Eastern Iranians was far inferior to that of the Western. This was also true of the Soghdians in relation to the Bactrians. Nevertheless they too had towns, though on a smaller scale. Alexander had mostly to reduce "fortified places" (*erymata*), i.e. castles of the local landowning nobility. The name of one of these towns, Maracanda, has survived in the present-day Samarqand. There exists a report on rice-growing in Bactria, but we have no information on the kind of crops grown in Soghdiana. Beyond the Sïr-Darya there seem to have been neither towns, nor agriculture. Many geographical details remain obscure as neither the diaries of Alexander's campaigns, kept by his orders, nor in fact any original sources on the history of his wars, have come down to us.

Under Alexander and the Seleucids who succeeded him in Asia, several new towns—bearing such names as Alexandria, Antioch, Seleucia etc.—were built in Turkestan. One Antioch was built beyond the Sïr-Darya. Two Antiochs were founded on the Murghab, and in the course of time became respectively known as Upper Marv, or "Marv of the river" (Marvarrūd, now Bālā-Murghāb in Afghanistan), and Lower or Principal Marv. Under Antiochus Soter (280-261 B.C.) the oasis of Marv was

[1] Expression used by F. N. Weissbach in *Die Keilinschriften am Grabe des Darius Hystaspes,* Leipzig 1911, See,*e.g.,* the bas-relifs in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs,* Berlin 1910.

surrounded by long walls as a protection against the nomads. This was the first construction of this type in Central Asia. The building of new towns continued even after an independent Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, of which Soghdiana formed a part, arose in Central Asia (by the middle of the third century B.C.). The kingdom of Eucratides (2nd cent. B.C.) was called "the kingdom of a thousand towns". Relations with India, which had gained in importance since Alexander's times, must have contributed to the propagation of culture. The conquering aspirations of the Graeco-Bactrian kings were directed also towards India.

## NOMAD MOVEMENTS

In the middle of the second century B.C. the northern, and later the southern provinces of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom were conquered by Central Asian nomads, who in due course subdued several Indian provinces and became known in Greek literature under the general appellation of Scythians. In the same century relations between Central Asia and China were established for the first time. The fall of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom is the first event of world history recorded both in Western (Greek) and Far-Eastern (Chinese) sources.

Nearly all we know about Central Asia between the second century B.C. and the seventh century A.D. has been extracted from Chinese sources. A survey of these data was made in Russian by the monk Iakinf (Hyacinth) Bichurin [1]. It is also to the Chinese that we owe our earliest information on Farghana, on the settled regions of the present day Eastern, or Chinese, Turkestan and on the nomads of the Central Asian steppes. Both the Greeks, in Soghdiana, and the Chinese, in Farghana and Eastern Turkestan, found agriculture and urban life fairly well developed. The Chinese borrowed from Farghana the cultivation of the vine and the lucerne. Owing to the proximity of the nomads, horse-breeding flourished in Farghana, and the Chinese even organised military expeditions for the sake of one

[1] *Collection of information on the peoples having inhabited Central Asia in ancient times,* St. Petersburg 1852, 3 vols. [Re-published with additions, 3 vols, 1950-3].

particular breed of its horses. In their turn, the inhabitants of Farghana learnt from the Chinese the art of making silver and gold vessels and iron weapons. These crafts were still flourishing in Farghana during the first centuries of Islam.

Two nomad peoples—the *Wu-sun* in the Qulja region, and the Great *Yüeh-chih* on the Oxus—, had reached Turkestan somewhat earlier, in connection with the migrations which led to the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. The Chinese do not mention the part taken in this movement by the *K'ang-chü*, who bordered on the Wu-sun in the West and on the Yüeh-chih in the North; nor do they say whether the K'ang-chü were the original inhabitants of the country, or newcomers like their neighbours. It has now been established [1] that Yüeh-chih, or more correctly Yüeh-shih, is the Chinese pronunciation of the name of the people Kush or Kushān, mentioned on local coins and in western sources. A section of this people, the "Lesser Yüeh-chih" of the Chinese sources, remained in Eastern Turkestan, in the region to the East of Khotan. Both the Greater and Lesser Yüeh-chih were also called Tokhar. Apparently the term "Kush" or "Kushān" had mainly a political, and the term "Tokhar" mainly an ethnical meaning. The Tokhar gave their name to the province of Tokharistān which, during the Muslim period, comprised the northern part of Afghanistan between Balkh and Badakhshān, and, in a wider sense, the whole of the territories along the right and left affluents of the upper Oxus. Judging by the language of the Buddhist writings discovered in the region to the East of Khotan, where the Tokhars lived, this people was of Aryan origin [1]. The ethnical origin of the Wu-sun and K'ang-chü is still uncertain. The Chinese describe them as nomads, but mention also five lesser K'ang-chü possessions which seem to have been agricultural regions conquered by the nomads. These states have been located in the vicinity of Tashkent, in Khwārazm, on the Zarafshān, near Katta-Qurghan and Bukhara, and on the Qashka-Darya, near Shahrisabz. Samarqand is not mentioned by the Chinese sources before the fifth century A.D. This fact corroborates the statement of Greek sources that Maracanda had

[1] [This is still a moot question. V.M.]

been destroyed by Alexander. As a result of this event the territories around Samarqand must have lost their former importance for several centuries and the cultural centre of the Zarafshān valley was displaced towards the region of Katta-Qurghan. This conclusion founded on Greek and Chinese sources is supported by certain archaeological data.

The caravan route from China to Hither Asia had been opened up in the second century B.C., and later it became the principal channel for the export of Chinese silk. Graeco-Roman glass and cut-crystal were imported into China by the same route. Under Western influence, the glass industry developed in Central Asia, parallel to the development of the metal industry under the influence of the East. Persia was the country which drew the greatest advantages from trade relations with China, at first under the Parthian *Arsacids,* and later under the Persian *Sasanids,* who by every means at their disposal impeded the communications between China and the Roman Empire, in order to retain the profitable rôle of commercial intermediaries. Under the Sasanids the Persians held the most important sea and land routes of world commerce. The influence of Sasanian Persia, as well as of China and India, and the remnants of Graeco-Bactrian culture helped to raise the cultural level of the Central Asian Iranians, especially the Soghdians.

Political life in Central Asia during that period was limited to the petty wars of local rulers, especially in Eastern Turkestan, and the raids and conquests of the nomads. The Chinese too occasionally took a hand in the struggles against these latter. In the fifth century the southern part of Turkestan was conquered by the Haytals [1]—the *Hephthalites* of the Greek sources—in all probability a people of Iranian descent, to whom the appellation of Kushan was now transferred [2]. The Soghdians too submitted to the Hephthalites, whose headquarters were in Badakhshān. Their advance in the direction of India was not successful. In the sixth

[1] [*Haytal* is the Arabic form of the name, but **Habtal* would be a better reading. V.M.]

[2] [Still doubtful. The name of the Kushan seems to have survived in that of the Hindu-*Kush*. V.M.]

century, between the years 563 and 567, according to our sources, the Hephthalite kingdom was conquered by the *Turks* who formed the most extensive nomad empire ever known up to that date, stretching as it did from the frontiers of China to the confines of Persia and Byzantium. This explains why our information on this empire comes both from Chinese, and from Persian, Greek and Armenian sources. By this time the nomad Iranians had been finally dislodged from Central Asia, and in the seventh century the Muslims did not meet any there. The sedentary Central-Asian Iranians, *viz.* the Soghdians, successfully exploited the extent and power of the Turkish empire. The commercial interests of the Soghdians, who retained the monopoly of the silk trade, brought about a rupture between the Turks and the Persians and led to an exchange of embassies between the former and Byzantium. Trade with China was also greatly developed. The eastern gate of Samarqand was called "the Chinese gate". Soghdian colonies sprang up along all the routes to China—from the southernmost road *via* Khotan and the southern part of Eastern Turkestan towards Lob Nor, to the northernmost, *via* the Semirechyé. In the latter region and eastward of the Sïr-Darya, where in the second century B.C. the Chinese had found only nomad life, the famous seventh century traveller Hsüan-tsang (629-630) saw cultivated fields and trading towns.

### LOCAL CULTURE CONTEMPORARY OF THE T'ANG DYNASTY

Towards 618 China under the T'ang dynasty reached the zenith of its political power, and the contemporary Chinese sources give more detailed accounts of the material and spiritual culture of Turkestan. They mention the cultivation of rice in the valleys of the Qashqa-Darya and the Zarafshan, as well as of millet and wheat. In three states, including Farghana, there were gilt thrones in the form of rams, whereas in Bukhara the throne was in the shape of a camel. These data from Chinese sources find confirmation in the reports of the Byzantine envoys who saw in the *ordu* of the Turkish khan a gilt throne supported by four golden peacocks, and silver figures of animals which were not

inferior to Byzantine work. It is clear that the throne and figures were the work of conquered Central Asian Iranians and not of the Turks themselves. Even in the tenth century under the Muslims, wooden figures of animals—horses, oxen, camels and wild beasts—were to be seen in the public squares of Samarqand. Near the town of Kushaniya [1] there stood a building decorated with frescoes: on the northern wall these represented Chinese emperors, on the eastern, Indian brahmans and Turkish khans, and on the western, Persian kings and Roman emperors.

The Turks borrowed their alphabet from the Central Asian Iranians. The Turkish ambassadors who visited Constantinople in 567 brought with them a letter written in "Scythian characters". The oldest Turkish alphabet has survived in a series of inscriptions. The most extensive of these are those dated with the years 732 and 735 and found on the banks of the Orkhon in Mongolia. The Danish scholar V. Thomsen succeeded in deciphering the alphabet and the language itself, which in Russian are both called after Orkhon. Other inscriptions, undated, but more ancient, judging by the type of the characters (probably of the seventh century), have been found in Turkestan, in the valley of the Talas, to the south of Auliya-ata. It has been suggested that this alphabet is derived from the script used by the Soghdians, i.e. the Central Asian Iranians. The most ancient samples of Soghdian writings are commercial documents discovered in a tower of the Chinese frontier wall near Tun-huang. More certain is the Soghdian origin of the Uyghur alphabet, the second Turkish alphabet in chronological order, so named after the first [? V.M.] sedentary inhabitants of Eastern Turkestan of Turkish origin. The Soghdian and Uyghur alphabets are known to us from Buddhist, Manichaean and Christian documents dating approximately from the seventh century A.D. The language of the Soghdian documents is the same, but they present dialectical differences. Neither the language, nor the dialects can be located with certainty. The discoveries were made in Eastern Turkestan where the exceptional dryness of the climate insured

[1] North of the Zarafshan, in the Katta-Qurghan district [in the present-day Uzbek Republic].

the excellent preservation of the documents which may have been brought from elsewhere. The peculiarities of the language and certain terms, such as the names of the months, coincide with what Biruni, the eleventh century Muslim author, says about the Soghdian language. The Greeks gave the name of Soghdiana to the region between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, whereas Muslim geographers applied the term Soghd only to the Zarafshan basin. As for the Soghdian language which is mentioned by Biruni, we do not know how far it extended northwards and westwards, if only as a literary language.

Representatives of different religions used different alphabets. The Buddhists took up the local Soghdian alphabet, while the Manichaeans and Christians adapted their own alphabets to the local language. In Uyghur Turkish the Buddhists sometimes used a Sanskrit alphabet. At a later time the representatives of all three religions switched over to the same Uyghur alphabet. Some Manichaean documents have come down to us in two versions, of which one is in Manichaean, and the other in Uyghur characters. The two literary languages of Eastern Turkestan, the Northern (in the region of Kucha) and the Southern (to the east of Khotan) have come down to us only in Buddhist texts. The Northern language, misnamed by German and French scholars "Tokharian", belongs to the Indo-European group, but is neither Iranian, nor Indian. So far it has not been ascertained to which of the historically known peoples it belonged and what part this people played in the movements of the Indo-Europeans. The Southern language belongs to the Iranian group and seems to have a better claim to the name of "Tokharian" [1].

No literary remains of Zoroastrianism, the national religion of the Iranians of Persia and of the western part of Central Asia, have so far come to light in Eastern Turkestan. Zoroastrianism in Turkestan had some local features which differentiated it from the Zoroastrianism of Sasanian Persia. One such feature is attested by ossuaries; these were small clay coffins ornamented with figures, sometimes in relief, in which the bones of the dead were preserved after the flesh had fallen away,

[1] [It is usually attributed to the Iranian Saka. V.M.]

for the earth was not to be polluted by the decomposition of the corpse. Such ossuaries have been recovered only within the territory of Russian Turkestan, between Katta-Qurghan on the Zarafshan, and Pishpek in the Semirechye. Their ornamental figures are equally interesting for the history of religion and for the history of art, as they point to the survival of the artistic traditions of the Greeks and to the influence of Sasanian Persia.

There exist some written sources on religious life in pre-Islamic Turkestan, and especially in its capital Samarqand, where Zoroastrian, Manichaean and Buddhist communities still existed in the tenth century. Buddhism died out in Samarqand and other regions in pre-Islamic times, but it remained the predominant religion in Tokharistan (in the wider sense of the term) down to the Islamic conquest.

Politically Turkestan was divided into a number of small states. The most powerful ruler was the prince of Samarqand who, like the prince of Farghana, bore the title of *ikhshīd*. However, even the *ikshīds* were only the first among the land-owning nablemen and, like them, were called *dihqān*. The *dihqāns* lived in fortified castles [1], and from thence completely dominated the country. In this respect the Turkestan of the seventh century A.D. differed but little from the Turkestan of the fourth century B.C. despite the progress of trade and industry. The towns were of no great size, as attested both by Chinese and Muslim sources and by archaeological sites (*gorodishche*). The site of Afrāsiyāb, on which stood pre-Islamic Samarqand, the capital of the country, covers an area of less than two square kilometres [2]. In Buddhist Tokharistan urban life had also realised considerable progress. Tirmidh, one of its secondary towns, was of the same size as Samarqand. Balkh, the ancient Bactria, was in all probability much larger. This accounts for the important part played by Balkh during the first centuries of Islam in the cultural life of Turkestan and of the whole Muslim world.

[1] Their remains (so-called "habitation qurghans") exist in many parts of Turkestan.

[2] [See now the important excavations of the Soviet scholars in Khwarazm, Soghdiana and Turkmenia].

The princes were attached to the Turkish khans, and sometimes to the Chinese emperors. Only a part of the present-day Transcaspian province down to Marv belonged to Sasanian Persia. Coins of the Sasanian type were struck in some places (Samarqand, Bukhara and Khwarazm). Roman architectural technique exercised its influence through Sasanian Persia. An example of this influence was the Samarqand "lead conduit" (*jū-yi arzīz*) [1], which served to bring water into the town.

## ARAB CONQUEST

The Arabs were the first people to invade Turkestan from the West since the times of Alexander. Their conquest re-attached a part of Turkestan to Hither Asia. The Arabs annexed the lands beyond the Oxus—*Mawarannahr,* lit. "that which lies beyond the river" (Transoxiana)—to Khorasan, the eastern march of Sasanian Persia. Marv became the capital of the whole of Khorasan, and Samarqand the capital of Mawarannahr. From the military point of view, the expeditions of the governor *Qutayba ibn-Muslim* (705-715) were most important. He took Samarqand in 712, and this is one of the few phases of the Arab conquest on which we possess some local information [2], in addition to what we know from Arabic sources. At times the local rulers sought the aid of the Turkish khans and the Chinese Emperors against the Arabs. In the late seven-thirties the Arab victories over the Turks on the Jaxartes brought about the final dismemberment of the Turkish nomad empire, even though the Arabs did not pursue the nomads on to their steppes. In 751 the victory over the Chinese in the Talas valley settled the question as to which of the two cultures, the Hither Asian or the Far Eastern, would prevail in Turkestan. The Arabs themselves looked upon Turkestan as a province wrested from the Chinese Emperors.

In their campaigns the Arabs reached Kashghar [3] and the eastern part of the Sïr-Darya region, while their actual conquests

[1] A lead water-pipe laid under the roofs of the bazaar, a stone arch and the town-moat.

[2] A letter of the Samarqand prince to the Chinese Emperor, dated A.D. 712.

[3] [Whether the Arabs reached Kashghar itself is doubtful. V.M.]

stretched to the eastern frontiers of Farghana, the Chirchik valley and Khwarazm, or generally speaking the regions where the sown lands bordered on the steppe. In the eighth century a long wall was built to protect the Chirchik valley from the raids of the nomads. Similar long walls protected, for instance, the province of Samarqand, i.e. *Soghd* in the narrow sense of the term. Remnants of these walls have survived to the present day in the form of earthen ramparts. The governor or *amir* of Khorasan was appointed directly by the Caliph or by the Caliph's viceroy for the eastern part of the caliphate. The viceroys who followed one another in quick succession availed themselves of their short term of office to acquire estates which remained the property of their descendants. Local ruling dynasties, although completely subjected to the Amir of Khorasan, continued in existence for quite a long time. In some cases an Arab Amir ruled the province side by side with the native prince.

By the middle of the eighth century, a movement originating in Khorasan brought about the fall of the Omayyad dynasty of Caliphs and the accession of the Abbasids. Armed bodies of Khorasanians, i.e. Central Asian Iranians, to which later Turkish detachments were added, formed the Caliphs' chief bulwark in the East. Officials of Khorasanian origin held the highest charges both in the centre of the caliphate and above all on the eastern marches. Under the first Abbasids the *Barmakids* enjoyed full power as ministers; in the ninth century they received from the Caliph governorships in various provinces of Mawarannahr, and from the year 900 they became amirs of the whole of Khorasan. Barmak, the ancestor of the Barmakids, and the Sāmān-khudāt, the ancestor of the Samanids, were both natives of the province of Balkh, which points to the importance of that region. They had both already achieved eminence under the Khorsasanian governor Asad. In 725, on the orders of Asad, Barmak rebuilt Balkh which had been destroyed during the Arab conquest, and the inhabitants of the neigbouring town of Barūqān, built by the Arabs, were transferred to it. This is a unique instance in Muslim history of the abandonment of a Muslim-built town in order to restore a town built in pre-Islamic times. It is nothe-

worthy that this cultural triumph of the vanquished over the victors should have taken place in the Buddhist part of Iran. Other information points also to Buddhist Iran: such are the reports on the origin of the *madrasa,* as a special type of Muslim theological high school; on the home of the earliest Sufis [1] in Central Asia, and on the renaissance of the Persian language and literature in the same region. On the other hand, during the Muslim period, Buddhist Iran [2] adopted the administrative traditions of [Western] Iran as represented, in public opinion, by the Barmakids and the Samanids. At the time when the founder of the *Samanid* dynasty, Ismail (892-907) was ruling only in Mawarannahr, his residence was in Bukhara and not in the capital Samarqand. After having subdued the lands to the south and west of the Amu-Darya the Samanids continued to reside in Bukhara, and thus the administrative centre of the former Khorasan governorship was transferred to the east of the Oxus.

The tenth century, the century of the Samanids, was the period when Arabic geographical literature was at its zenith. The principal works of this literature have been published by the Dutch Orientalist de Goeje [3]. These works contain a detailed enumeration of all the regions of the Muslim world: they describe towns, rivers and irrigation systems, and give information on trade, industry, customs, religions and even dialects. The data on Turkestan under the Samanids are particularly comprehensive, as compared with those bearing on the earlier and later epochs.

Thanks to the Arab geographers, we are able to reject the theory which attributes the changes of climatic conditions in Central Asia to the process of *desiccation.* The detailed information on tenth-century Turkestan shows that cultivated tracts and steppes were distributed then more or less as they are to-day, and this comparison suggests that, if the process of desiccation is operative at all, it proceeds so slowly that its effect is negligible within a millenium.

The same records suggest that during the first centuries of

[1] Muslim mystics.

[2] And in general, Central Asian Iran.

[3] *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum,* vols. I-VIII.

Islam Turkestan was making rapid progress. In the seventh century A.D. Turkestan was much as it had been in the fourth century B.C. and its culture could not have stood comparison with that of Sasanian Iran, whereas in the tenth century it differed little from the other countries of ancient civilisation. Particularly interesting are the facts pointing to the considerable growth of the towns and to the progress of trade and industry.

In Turkestan the Arabs did not build such large new towns as they did in Persia (Shiraz and Qum) and Transcaucasia (Ganja), but under their rule the existing towns grew in size. A comparison of literary records with archaeological remains throws much light on the growth of such towns as Marv, Samarqand and Bukhara. We can form now a clear idea of the plan of a *pre-Muslim town.* Its component parts were:

a) the *shahristān,* represented in Marv by the Giaur-qalʿa, in Samarqand by the Afrāsiyāb site, and in Bukhara by the inner mound;

b) the citadel (*diz* "fortress" or *kuhandiz* "old fortress", hence *kunduz),* which stood either inside the *shahristān* (as in Marv and Samarqand) or outside it (as in Bukhara);

c) the suburbs (*rabaḍ*), surrounded by an outer town-wall (the rampart Gīlakīn-Chilburj in Marv, the rampart Duvār-i Qiyāmat in Samarqand, the present-day wall of Bukhara).

Even after the capital had been transferred to Bukhara, Samarqand remained the most populous town in Turkestan and its commercial and industrial centre. From the Chinese prisoners, captured in the battle of 751, the inhabitants of Samarqand learned the art of manufacturing rag-paper. This new writing material gradually spread from Samarqand to the West and replaced papyrus and parchment, both in the Muslim and the Christian worlds. On the other hand, the influence of the Western textile industry made itself felt first in Persia, and from thence in Turkestan. Textiles manufactured in Samarqand, Bukhara and Khwarazm were called after Egyptian towns or the Persian towns of Fars. Very popular too were the cotton fabrics made in the small town of Vadhār lying to the east of Samarqand. The fact that Vadhār was a centre of Arab settlers shows that the

Arabs who settled down in Turkestan came there not only as warriors of the faith. A still more important factor in the development of urban life and industry must have been immigration from Persia: this alone would account for the disappearance of the Soghdian language from the plains of Turkestan. In our days Soghdian (in two dialects) has survived only in the valley of the mountain river Yaghnob. Soghdian has given way to *Tājīk* which differs little from Persian. The name *Tāzīk*, or *Tājīk*, which was originally given to the Arabs, is an Iranian derivation from the name of the tribe Tayy, in Northern Arabia. The Turks seem to have understood the term *Tājīk* in the sense of "Muslim", "one belonging to Muslim culture", and used it, accordingly, as a designation for the main mass of Muslims known to them, namely for the Iranians, making no distinction between the *Tājīks* and the Arabs. The mountaineers *Gharcha*, or *Ghalcha* (from the word *ghar* "mountain") differed greatly from the inhabitants of the plains in their language, and especially in their manners and customs. The region inhabited by them was called Gharchistān. How small was the difference, in the tenth century, between the language spoken in Turkestan, at least amongst the educated classes, and that spoken in Persia, can be judged by the fact that poets, who were natives of Turkestan, such as Rūdakī, could achieve eminence in the Persian Parnassus. In Khwarazm the people still continued to speak their own language, unintelligible to the other Iranians, and even to use it in writing [1]. Later this language seems to have been superseded by Turkish and not by Persian. The tall caps, a special feature of the Khwarazmian costume, survived among the Northern Khivans and the Turcomans. Some terms relating to irrigation (*arna* "large canal", *yab* "small canal") which survived only in Khiva and among the Turcomans are undoubtedly remnants of the Khwarazmian language.

As early as the ninth century Mawarannahr was regarded as a Muslim country, its population taking part in the holy war against the infidels. Towards the same time the local school of

[1] [The documents in Khwarazmian have been studied by W. Henning and A. Freiman].

theology, based on the Hanefite rite, came into being. The learned *Abū-Ḥafṣ* of Bukhara, who died in 832, was called "the teacher of scholars in Mawarannahr", as it stands written on his tomb. In the tenth century, besides the Jewish community, which subsists to the present day, there were Zoroastrian and Christian communities in Samarqand, as well as a small Manichaean colony. The Zoroastrians of Samarqand (*mugh*) were entrusted with the care of the "lead conduit", which exempted them from the poll-tax imposed in Islamic states upon non-Muslims. In the eleventh century Zoroastrians are still mentioned in Bukhara and Khwarazm. In the tenth century there existed a Christian settlement to the south of the Sïr-Darya, on the border between the cultivated lands and the "Hunger steppe". There was also a large Christian monastery to the south of Samarqand in the region near Urgut, where Christian inscriptions in Syriac have recently come to light. Even then the Christians were less numerous than the Jews. Among the Muslims themselves, certain customs and beliefs of former times still survived. The poet Rūdakī expresses in his verses a purely pagan conception of Earth and Heaven, as the father and mother of mankind. Clay statuettes, originally idols, were freely sold in Bukhara till the middle of the tenth century, and traces of dualistic beliefs are found to the present day in rural districts. Among the popular masses Shi'ism spread simultaneously with orthodox Islam. The Samanid Amir Nasr (914-943) patronised one of the Shi'a movements. He probably did so out of hatred for the aristocracy and the clergy allied to it, but this venture led to his downfall.

The new order which the Samanids introduced in the tenth century had not altogether superseded the old. The suburbs, where the bazaars were situated and where the commercial and industrial classes were concentrated, had outgrown the old shahristans, but the latter were still associated with the idea of a "town". It is true that independent princes and the landed aristocracy had given way to a despotic regime of the Hither Asian type and to bureaucratic centralisation: in Bukhara, the capital of the Samanids, as many as ten *divans*, or administrative departments, were arrayed around the *Registān* place. However,

in some regions like Khwarazm, hereditary rulers of pre-Muslim dynasties were still carrying on. There remained also a few influential dihqans. Thus the mighty lord of Tūnkat [1], though divested of his political power, still wielded much influence over the population. Like the Abbasid caliphs, the Samanids had surrounded themselves with a guard of *Turkish slaves* who formed their military mainstay, but there was as yet no such strict distinction between the army and the people as at a later date. The population retained some of their warlike habits and continued to carry arms. It was the popular masses who furnished bodies of *volunteers,* "warriors of the faith", who, like the "free cossacks", defended the frontiers of the Muslim states against the raids of the Turks and at the same time imperilled internal order. It was said of these detachments that they were "both the support of the government and the object of its anxiety". The population of Samarqand, the principal centre of urban life, had also a reputation for unruliness; because of their mutinous spirit the government had the outer gates of the town demolished. Nor could the Samanids confidently rely on their Turkish guard, especially in their struggles against the Turkish khans. The latter's conquest of the Samanid state in the tenth century was aided by the treason of the dihqans and Turkish generals, as well as by the apathy of the popular masses. The people showed no love for the despotic tendencies of the Samanids and the bureaucratic centralisation, because the upkeep of the guard and of the officials led to increased taxation.

### THE TURKS

As usual, the new conquering onslaught of the Central Asian barbarians upon the civilised regions was preceded by a period during which these barbarians were drawn into the sphere of cultural influences. Trading with the nomads was profitable to the civilised population who received from them the products of their stock breeding, in particular meat and horses. Still greater was the demand of the nomads for the products of their civilised neighbours, such as wheat and especially articles of clothing. Wherever

[1] In the Ahangarān (now Angren) valley, to the south of Tashkent.

trade existed between the nomads and the sedentary population—on the borders of China, of the Muslim world and of Russia—the nomads drove their herds to the frontier towns without waiting for the traders to come on to their steppes. Besides the necessary commodities, another attraction for the nomads were the reed beds along the banks of the large rivers which made convenient grounds for winter camping. The coming of the nomads for trade to these winter quarters easily turned into plundering raids. *Rabāṭs* [1], or block-houses, built on the frontiers for the volunteers "fighting for the faith", were meant to cope with such raids. The Samanid government went so far as to grant lands along the middle course of the Sïr-Darya to Turkish settlers on condition that they defended the frontier against their heathen kinsmen. Traders from Muslim Turkestan introduced Islamic civilisation in various regions, partly through channels previously opened up by the Soghdians. As before, the principal roads were those leading to China, and from these other roads branched off towards the North to the headquarters of certain nomad khans: from Talas (now Aulıya-Ata) it took 81 days to reach the headquarters of the Kimaks on the Irtish; from the region of Turfan a road ran towards the Qirghiz, into the basin of the Upper Yenisey. According to Chinese sources, in the tenth century Muslim merchants penetrated even into Eastern Mongolia on the Orkhon. The Kimak camp could also be reached by another road from the lower course of the Sïr-Darya. This area lay outside the Samanid territories, but trading factories had been established there by settlers from the Samanid state. These emigrants seem to have been coming partly from the region along the middle course of the Sïr-Darya, where Sauran was the frontier-post of the Samanid Mawarannahr, and partly from *Khwarazm*. The latter owed its wealth exclusively to its trade with the nomads which seems to have greatly developed in Islamic times. This trade was concentrated in the northern part of Khwarazm,—where stood the town of Gurgānj (now Kuna-Urganch). In the tenth century this part of Khwarazm formed a separate state independent of the pre-Muslim

[1] Not to be confused with *rabaḍ*, "a suburb".

dynasty of the Khwarazmshahs whose rule did not extend beyond the southern part of the region. Traders from Gurganj carried Islam and Muslim culture to the banks of the Volga: the Volga Bulghars adopted Islam, and the Khazar state had a guard of Khwarazmian Muslims. Khwarazmians seem to have taken service with the Khazars even before the final triumph of Islam in their country, for in 764 a Khwarazmian commanded the Khazar army which raided the Muslim possessions beyond the Caucasus. How close were the ties between the Samanid state and the regions along the Volga, can be judged by the fact that the Caliph's embassy of 921-922, whose journey is described by Ibn Faḍlān, travelled to the Volga by the circuitous route through Bukhara and Khwarazm, instead of taking the shorter road through the Caucasus. The amirs of Gurganj grew so powerful, through their trade with the nomads, that in the tenth century they finally annexed the southern part of Khwarazm and appropriated the title of Khwarazmshah. A few years later the Samanid dynasty perished in the struggle against the Muslim Turks.

In those days the success of Muslim trade was not always accompanied by the success of *Islam* as a religion. Unlike Buddhism, Christianity and Manichaeism, Islam was at that time unsupported by missionaries. The propagation of the faith was regarded as the business of the state, and not of private individuals. Muslims who travelled for commercial purposes did not engage in religious propaganda. In the eighth century there existed in the Chinese language religious literature of the Buddhists, the Manichaeans and the Christians, but not of the Muslims, although according to the sources, alien Muslims in China were no less numerous than the adherents of other Asian creeds. Thus the Christians and Manichaeans, in their proselytising activities, profited by the success of Muslim trade in Central Asia much more than did the Muslims themselves. The most important gains of Christianism and Manichaeism in Central Asia were made during the Muslim period. Islamic propaganda affected mainly the immediate neighbours of the Muslim world, as a corollary of the political and cultural influence of the Muslim

states. Independently of government policy, Islam was spread by *darvish* mystics who are perhaps the only representatives of a missionary movement, internal or external, in the Muslim world. The shaykhs of the darvish orders were always more successful on the steppes than in the more civilised regions, yet they confined their activities to the near-lying steppes and did not undertake any distant expeditions.

The geographers of the first half of the tenth century regarded the frontiers of Islam in the North-East as coinciding with those of the Samanid kingdom. They represent the Turks as opposed to the Muslims, with the exception of the Turks on the Sïr-Darya who had been converted to Islam and had at the same time come under Samanid rule. Talas remained the centre of the frontier trade in the North-East. This town, situated on the river of the same name, had been conquered by the Samanids in 893, when the "principal church" was converted into a mosque. This fact shows that here Christian propaganda had preceded Muslim. Hardly correct, however, is Ibn Hauqal's statement that no Muslim had ever penetrated farther than Talas, because beyond this town began the possessions of the nomad Qarluq Turks. An entirely different picture is given by Muqaddasi, a geographer of the second half of the tenth century: settlements to the east of Talas had mosques; in Merki, as in Talas, the church had been converted into a mosque; near the same settlement a Samanid lord had built a *rabāt*.

Historians give 960 as the date of the first conversion to Islam of a numerous Turkish people (200,000 tents) without any mention of Holy War. There is possibly some connection between this fact and the sojourn at the court of the Turkish khan of Kalimati, a Muslim scholar from Khorasan. The reports about the conversion of the Turks and Kalimati's journey probably refer to the Turkish Khanate which comprised the town of Balasaghun in the valley of the Chu, and Kashghar, and from which came the attack on the Samanid kingdom at the end of the tenth century. Although the southern part of the Semirechye and the north-western part of Eastern Turkestan are separated by a high chain of snow-capped mountains, under nomad domination they

often formed part of the same state, and even part of the same fief, because Eastern Turkestan had no grazing grounds, which were necessary to the nomads. On the other hand, the high mountains presented an obstacle to the movement of armies. Like all the other nomad inroads into the cultivated districts of Turkestan, the Turkish attack on the Samanid state was made from the Semirechye in the North-East, and not from Kashghar. Kashghar itself was more often attacked from the direction of Farghana, than vice versa.

## THE QARA-KHANIDS [1])

The Turkish people that conquered the Samanid dominions have left no reliable traditions on the circumstances in which they were converted to Islam. There exist only certain legendary reports about Satuq Boghra khan, the first ruler to embrace Islam, though his tomb is still shown in a village to the north of Kashghar. With equal rapidity, the Turks lost all recollection of their pre-Muslim cultural past. The Uyghur alphabet inherited from pre-Islamic times was for some time used side by side with the Arabic, to be abandoned and forgotten at a later date. Its use was revived only during the domination of the Mongols who had acquired it from the non-Muslim population of Eastern Turkestan. Some traces of early nomad traditions survived in administrative terminology, and especially in the titulature of the khans. Thus some Muslim khans styled themselves Emperors of China (in Turkish *Tabghach-khan* or *Tamghach-khan*), though their possessions no longer included China or even lands bordering on China. The literature of the Muslim Turks was based exclusively on Muslim, and especially Persian patterns. The earlier acquaintance of the Turks with Chinese culture, Buddhism, Christianity and Manichaeism left no impress on their literature. This explains the aridity, dullness and lack of popularity among the popular masses of the Turkish imitative writings. It is enough to compare the didactic poem *Qutadghu* (or *Qudatqu*)*-bilik*, composed in 462/1069-70 by Yūsuf of Balasaghūn [2]) for the khan

[1] For further details see below p. 92.

[2] The author states that his was the first work to be written in Turkish, whereas the Arabs and Persians had many books.

of Kashghar with the didactic treatise *Qābūs-nāma,* written in Persian in 1082 A.D. and subsequently translated no less than three times into Turkish. The Persian author presents his edifying subjects in animated narrative, and illustrates them with historical examples, thereby enhancing the interest of his book. In the *Qutadghu-bilik* the personages are lifeless allegorical figures: Justice is impersonated by a ruler, Happiness by a vazir, Intelligence by the vazir's son, Contentment by the vazir's brother. Very few manuscripts of the *Qutadghu-bilik* have come to light so far[1], though the discovery, made in 1909[2], of an earthen jug inscribed with paraphrased verses from this poem may mean that it enjoyed a wider popularity than the number of surviving copies seems to suggest.

The conquest of the Samanid state by the Muslim Turks began from the North-East, and the first province to be occupied was Isfījāb, the present day district of Chimkant. In 992 the Turkish forces entered Bukhara for the first time but were forced to withdraw in the same year. By the treaty of 996, the Samanids ceded to the Turks the whole of their possessions to the north of the Zarafshan basin, and in 999 Samarqand and Bukhara were annexed by the Turkish khan. The last Samanid pretender perished in 1005 after several unsuccessful attempts to restore the power of his dynasty. How far the domination of these Turks spread to the East, the sources do not say. In 998 the khan of Kashghar Arslan khan Ali died a "martyr" in the struggle for the faith and the place where he met his end is still shown to the north-east of Yängi-Hisar. This detail seems to indicate that at that time the dominion of the Muslim Turks and the diffusion of Islam was halted a short distance to the east of Kashghar.

In the tenth and twelfth centuries, the lands on both sides of the principal chain of the T'ien-shan were united under the rule of the so-called *Qarakhanids* or Ilek-khans, but not under one single ruler. Like all nomad or semi-nomad states the Qarakhanid state was divided into fiefs which soon became independent.

[1] [The MSS. of Vienna, Cairo and Farghana (the latter in Arabic script) have now been published in *facsimile,* Istanbul 1942-3.]

[2] In the village of Saraychik, near the mouth of the Ural river.

Their frontiers frequently shifted and they were often at war amongst themselves. All traces, even nominal, of the supreme power of the head of the dynasty had disappeared by the eleventh century. Different towns were ruled by independent rulers, all bearing equally proud titles. For some time after the conquest, the ruler of Western Turkestan bore the title of *ilek* which was apparently regarded as less important than that of *khan*. The first ilek, ruler of the whole of Mawarannahr, lived and was buried in Uzgand, a frontier town of Farghana, which under the Samanids was comparatively small in size (equalling one third of Osh). After the Turkish conquerors had securely established their power, they transferred their residence to Samarqand, the central town of the region, and there in the eleventh century they assumed the rank of *khan*. Uzgand continued to be the residence of the ruler of Farghana, until in the thirteenth century the Mongols built Andijān [1]. To this flourishing period of Uzgand belong the buildings which have survived to the present, such as a 63 feet high minaret and a *mazār*, i.e. a mausoleum where, according to local tradition, lie buried the first ilek and the Seljuk Sultan Sanjar (d. 1157), although, in point of fact the latter's tomb is in Marv. The inscription on the mausoleum shows that it was built only at the end of the twelfth century, but the interest of the Uzgand monuments is obvious in view of the scarcity of pre-Mongol buildings still extant in Turkestan. The ruler of Farghana was mostly independent of Samarqand, although the khans of Samarqand claimed sovereignty over the whole of Mawarannahr and in the late twelfth century styled themselves "Sultans of Sultans". In Bukhara, which ceased to be the capital under the Qarakhanids, some of the khans erected buildings, the best known of which is the minaret built in 1127 by Arslan-khan (170 feet high).

The Turkish conquest and the system of fiefs introduced by the conquerors did not interrupt the cultural development and progress of the country. The historical processes, discernible under the Samanids, continued under the Qarakhanids. The fall of the Samanid kingdom gave a new lease of life to the landed

[1] Now Uzgand is a village in the district of Andijān.

aristocracy, the *dihqans*. This conclusion is supported by the coins struck by the dihqan of Ilaq, who had enjoyed no such rights under the Samanids, and by reports about the wars of the Qarakhanids, in which there are references to a special force of the dihqans of Mawarannahr. Soon however the dihqans lost even such importance as was theirs under the Samanids, and in the political events of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, even at the time of the Mongol invasion, no mention is made any longer of the cavalry of these lords. It is probable that the dihqans took a hand in the struggle between the throne and the military aristocracy [1] which grew in fierceness under the Qarakhanids. The khans had the support of the popular masses, while the aristocracy was backed by the mullas. As a typical event one can quote the deposition and murder in 1095 of the Samarqand khan Ahmad who was very popular with the masses. This act was perpetrated by the chiefs of the Turkish guard at the instigation life must have also contributed to the decline of the class of dihqans. Since the conquest, there had been a noticeable tendency of the clergy. The progress achieved in trade, industry and town- to move the centre of town life from the old *shahristans* into the suburbs where the bazaars were situated. This process, by which former "towns" were transformed into "suburbs" and vice versa, was completed under the Qarakhanids in the eleventh century. The towns took on their present-day aspect, the principal arteries leading from the gates towards the centre, with bazaar-stalls lining these streets and the central cupola of the market (*chārsū*) rising over the spot where they intersected. The same process can be observed in Marv and other towns of Turkestan which lay outside the Qarakhanid possessions. Bukhara assumed the form of an aristocratic municipal republic, at whose head stood the *ṣadrs*, i.e. the princes of the church of the "house of Burhān", who represented the interests of the wealthy classes. In the beginning of the thirteenth century the power of the sadrs was crushed,—not by the khans, but by a popular movement headed by a man from the ranks of the craftsmen.

[1] Represented by the chiefs of the Turkish guards.

Foreign enemies took advantage of the struggles within the Qarakhanid state. The dynasty lost its independence as early as the eleventh century, but its physical existence continued till the beginning of the thirteenth. After the fall of the Samanid state, its territories situated to the south of the Amu-Darya passed into the hands of another dynasty which had formerly stood in a vassal relationship to the Samanids and which has been surnamed *Ghaznavid,* after its capital Ghazni (in present day Afghanistan, to the South-West of Kabul). Sultan Mahmūd (998-1030), the principal representative of this dynasty, successfully beat off the attacks of the Qarakhanids on the provinces to the south of the Amu-Darya. He retained Balkh in his power, and to some extent subdued the eastern provinces of present day Bukhara which gravitated towards Balkh. In the same way he conquered Khwarazm, a former vassal state of the Samanids.

Mahmud's successors were dislodged from Persia and Northern Afghanistan by the invasion of another Turkish people, the *Turcomans,* who formerly lived along the lower course of the Sïr-Darya. Thence they began moving southward in the tenth century,, and in the eleventh had crossed the Amu-Darya. The Turcomans belonged to a lower standard of civilisation than the conquerors of Samanid Turkestan. Until their conversion to Islam they were illiterate, and no dynasty of khans led them on their conquests. They came to Persia first as separate hordes, and then as bands comanded by *beks* (princes),—the issue of the Turcoman chief Seljuk. Only when they reached Persia did their *beks* adopt the royal title and style themselves "shahs" and "sultans". They were the first to introduce this latter title [1] into official terminology and the legends on coins. In this they were imitated by the later Ghaznavids and Qarakhanids. These "Seljuk Turks" gradually extended their sway over the whole of Muslim Asia. Having firmly established their power in Persia and Mesopotamia, they turned back to the East,

[1] Primarily this term did not designate an individual ruler, but only the "state power" in general.

conquered Khawarazm and the lands along the lower course of the Sïr-Darya, which were their earlier home, and subjugated the Qarakhanids, including the khan of Kashghar.

It was they who first conceived the idea of the *Sultan of Islam* as the sovereign ruler of the entire Muslim world, standing alongside the Caliph, the religious chief of the Muslims, whose spiritual authority was to consecrate the Sultan's power.

Even in the empire of the Seljuk sultans the principle of administrative unity was not completely achieved, despite all the efforts of their Persian ministers, especially the famous Nizām al-mulk (assassinated in 1092). Relatives of the Sultan received vast provinces which they administered and passed on by inheritance, while not always bowing to the authority of the head of the dynasty. The title of "sultan" was sometimes borne simultaneously by several persons. During the lifetime of his brothers (Bärk-Yaruq and Muhammad), Sultan Sanjar (1118-1157) ruled Khorasan and lived in the East, mostly in Marv,—even after he had become the head of the dynasty. Simultaneously, other princes in the West assumed the title of sultan. Sanjar's sovereignty over these provinces was purely nominal, though he successfully put down attempts of open rebellion. While his nephew Sultan Masʿūd (1133-1152) ruled in Baghdad and Western Persia, Sanjar did not advance further West than Rayy (to the east of Tehran). Finally the "Sultan of Islam" had to relinquish his sovereignty over the former Qarakhanid possessions in favour of the new conquerors who came from the Far East, and for the first time since the spread of Islam in Turkestan that country had to submit to a non-Muslim people.

### THE QARA-KHITAY

From the beginning of the tenth century, and since the fall of the Tʿang dynasty, the northern provinces of China had been ruled by foreign dynasties which arrogated to themselves the title of Emperor of China. The first of these dynasties was the House of Liao (916-1125) of Khitay (Kʿitan) extraction. The Khitay are usually supposed to have been of Tunguz origin but arguments have also been advanced to show that they were Mongols.

The earliest rulers of the House of Liao had solidly established their sway over Manchuria, Mongolia and Northern China, where they underwent the influence of Chinese culture. The Khitay gave to the Celestial Empire the name which has survived to the present day among the Mongols and Russians [1]. The Muslims, and after them the Western Europeans, gave the name of *Qitā* (*Khitā*), or *Qatā* (*Khatā*), only to Northern China, retaining the old name of China (*Chīn*, Arabic, *Ṣīn*) for Southern China, which remained under the rule of national dynasties until the Mongol conquest. The domination of the Khitay greatly affected the ethnical composition of the population of Mongolia by dislodging the Turkish elements whose place was now taken by the Mongols. They also influenced the conditions of life of the nomad peoples, as can be seen from the fact that they replaced the former cult of the East by the Chinese cult of the South, with the corresponding orientation of the nomads' dwellings in that direction.

Already in the eleventh century, the Muslims of Turkestan had to ward off attacks of non-Muslim peoples coming from the East, among whom the Khitay are mentioned. A more important westward movement of the Khitay took place after the conquest of the Liao kingdom in 1125 by the Jürchens, who also originated from Manchuria. Part of the Khitay, the Qara-Khitay (Black Khitay), as the Muslims called them, left their country under the leadership of a member of the former dynasty and migrated to the western part of Central Asia. In the letter which Sultan Sanjar addressed in July 1133 to the vazir of the Caliph, he speaks of the victory of the khan of Kashghar, at some days' distance to the East of Kashghar, over the *kāfir* ("infidel") who, a few years previously, had come "from the farthermost part of Turkestan". The leader of the *kāfirs* was taken prisoner.

This was the victory of the Kashghar ruler Arslan khan Ahmad over the Qara-Khitay army. The historian Ibn al-Athīr gives the date of this battle as 1128, though it probably took place some years later. And so the advance of the Qara-Khitay across

[1] [In Russian, China is called *Kitay*, cf. old English *Cathay*.]

Eastern Turkestan came to grief. More successful was their movement along the northern route, across the regions lying north of the Tien-shan. The first place where the Khitay firmly established themselves after they had left their native country, was Tarbaghatay. There, in the vicinity of the present day Chughuchaq, they built the town of Emil. At that time they numbered 40,000 tents. The first Muslim ruler to have dealings with them was the khan of Balasaghun who solicited their aid against some hostile Turkish chiefs. The Qara-Khitay defeated the khan's enemies but at the same time seized Balasaghun and deprived the khan of his title. Since then the valley of the river Chu remained the residence of the Qara-Khitay ruler who bore the title of *gūrkhān* [1]. The Chinese historians include the gurkhans among the Chinese emperors, enumerate their "years of rule" in Chinese nomenclature and call their dynasty "Western Liao". This seems to be the only example in history, of the retention of the Chinese imperial title by an alien dynasty even after it had been driven out of China. When in the fourteenth century the Yüan dynasty [2] was ousted from China, it was considered as having come to an end, although direct descendants of the last emperor continued for some time to reign in Mongolia.

From the banks of the Chu the gurkhan gradually spread his dominion over the Qarakhanids of Eastern and Western Turkestan. There is no information about his fighting with the khan of Kashghar but as Ibrahim khan, son of Arslan khan Ahmad, is called "the martyr" (*shahīd*), it is possible that he fell in a battle with the Qara-Khitay. The non-Muslim lands of the Eastern Tien-shan also submitted to the gurkhan. As early as 1137 the Qara-Khitay defeated the khan of Samarqand, Mahmud, near Khojand, but for some reason they did not avail themselves of this opportunity of conquering Mawarannahr. In 1141 the gurkhan intervened in the feuds in Mawarannahr, as he had done in Balasaghun. This time, however, he sided with the Turkish aristocracy, whereas Mahmud khan had invoked the aid of his

[1] According to Muslim authors it meant "khan of khans".
[2] As the Mongol dynasty was officially called in China.

uncle Sultan Sanjar. On 9 September 1141 the Sultan's army was defeated on the Qatvan steppe, to the north of Samarqand. It was said that the Muslims lost up to 30,000 men. The khan of Samarqand fled with the Sultan of Khorasan. He was succeeded by his brother who became the gurkhan's vassal.

News of the defeat of the most powerful Muslim sultan in a battle with non-Muslims reached the Crusaders, who were fighting the Muslims in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia, and gave rise to the legend of the Christian "Prester John". It was expected that the Christian king, who was attacking the Muslims from the East, would reach Jerusalem and help his co-religionists to smash the enemies of Christendom. In 1145 it was given out that he had reached the Tigris. In point of fact, the Qara-Khitay were not ambitious of extensive conquests and contented themselves with subjecting the nearest Muslim states, including Bukhara and Khwarazm. Even the town of Tirmidh, on the right bank of the Amu-Darya, remained under the Seljuk Sultan.

The Qara-Khitay kingdom was vastly different from the usual type of nomad empires. While retaining their nomad habits, the Qara-Khitay had absorbed Chinese culture to a far greater extent than other nomad conquerors. In their state the Chinese system of taxation "by households" prevailed, each house paying 1 dinar (about ten shillings). The first gurkhan is also said to have distributed no fiefs and entrusted to no man a command over more than 100 men. Even in later times the gurkhan's possessions show no signs of parcellation into appanages [1], but neither had they any administrative unity. Everywhere former local dynasties continued to exist as the gurkhan's vassals, their feudal dependence being of those three different types which became known in Russia during the various periods of Mongol domination. In many places there were permanent representatives of the gurkhan side by side with the local ruler. Some other provinces, like Khwarazm, were only periodically visited by the gurkhan's representatives who collected the tribute. Finally, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the *sadr* (religious chief)

[1] [In Russian: *udelnaya sistema,* i.e. the system of appanages under which the father's dominions were divided among his sons.]

of Bukhara in person took the tribute to the khan's ordu, as at a later date the prince of Moscow took his to the Golden Horde. In the middle of the twelfth century there lived in Bukhara a delegate of the gurkhan, whose instructions were to take the sadr's advice in all matters.

By comparison with the times of Sultan Sanjar, the limits of the Qara-Khitay dominions had been somewhat extended in the second half of the twelfth century, when they had come to include both Tirmidh and Balkh. As a general rule, however, the Qara-Khitay attempted no further conquests and even took no measures to prevent the recrudescence of war among their Muslim vassals and neighbours, until finally the latter raised the banner of holy war. With the death of Sultan Sanjar in 1157, the power of the Seljuk dynasty waned in the East. After this, several dynasties in turn laid claims to be regarded in Central Asia as Sultans of Islam "bound to liberate their co-religionists from the infidels' yoke", first the Seljuk Sultans of Western Persia, then the Ghūrid dynasty which arose in Afghanistan, and finally the Khwārazmshāhs who were hereditary governors in the service of the Seljuks.

### THE KHWARAZMSHAHS

The end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century are an important period in the history of Khwarazm for at that time this region had become the nucleus of a powerful state whose rulers could bid for paramountcy in Muslim Asia. The Khwarazmshah Täkish [1] (1172-1200) defeated his Muslim rivals. Toghrul, the last Seljuk sultan in Western Persia, fell in 1194 in a battle against Täkish. Like his predecessors Täkish several times waged war against the Qara-Khitay but with no great success. Even his son and successor Muhammad, during the first years of his reign, when he was struggling with the Ghurids, continued to pay tribute to the Qara-Khitay and to accept their aid. Later, however, he proclaimed himself the liberator of the Muslims from infidel domination and in 1210 defeated the Qara-Khitay army on the banks of the Talas. This

[1] [Perhaps: *Tükish*?]

victory, although not decisive, brought great fame to the Sultan, who adopted the titles of "Second Alexander" and "Sultan Sanjar". He planned to conquer China and to create a world empire, but this ambition was thwarted partly because of the opposition of foreign enemies, and partly also because of the lack of response among his Muslim subjects. In those days, the imperial idea was not popular in the Muslim world, in whose history one does not find the same connection between the growth of political power and the progress of trade and industry, that is to be found in later times in the history of Western Europe. In the Islamic world, political disintegration did not weaken cultural links between the separate regions. There no longer existed such a unique political and cultural centre as Baghdad had once been, but the interests of culture were equally well served by the existence of a number of rival capitals. Local princes vied with one another in attracting men of literary and scientific distinction to enhance the lustre of their courts. The outer world was no longer an object for Muslim military expeditions, but Muslim traders and men of culture, without any aid from the government, penetrated much farther than Islamic armies could have done. In the twelfth century, representatives of the Muslim military caste were to be found in the service both of the Polovtsian khans in Southern Russia and of the Manchurian rulers in Northern China. After their conquest of Central Asia the Qara-Khitay did not embrace Islam, but Muslim men of culture were in favour at the court of their rulers. A Muslim merchant, Mahmud-bay, was the minister of the last gurkhan. Muslim traders visited Eastern Mongolia and even the trade between Mongolia and China passed into their hands. Trade was in the form of barter, and apparently was not affected by disturbances in the currency system of Mawarannahr,—where, between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, the "silver" dirhams were struck in copper, which was tantamount to the introduction of token currency. The fame of Muslim specialists in irrigation inspired Mongol epics to create the figure of Sartaqtay [1], the builder of miraculous dykes and dams.

[1] In Mongolian "an Iranian, a representative of Muslim culture".

Sultan Muhammad did not secure the good will of the inhabitants of Turkestan whom he had liberated. In Bukhara he sided with the aristocracy. Malik Sanjar, the leader of the popular movement, was removed from Bukhara to Khwarazm. The sadr, who headed the aristocracy, was permitted to return to Bukhara but later on he too was deposed and sent to Khwarazm. Still worse was the treatment meted out by Muhammad to the Qarakhanids. The Khwarazmian garrison left behind in Samarqand provoked such irritation that the "Sultan of Sultans" Othman rose against his deliverers, with the full approval of his people, and resumed relations with the Qara-Khitay. Muhammad shed rivers of blood in subduing the population which he had previously "freed". The Qarakhanids, who had remained in power under the Qara-Khitay, were exterminated. After the battle on the Talas the inhabitants of Balasaghun in the Semirechye had expected the coming of the liberator and had closed the gates against the Qara-Khitay, but Muhammad betrayed their expectations and the town was captured by the Qara-Khitay. At about the same time, bands of "Tatar" nomads appeared in the Semirechye and in Kashgharia, as a sequel to the disorders which took place in Mongolia in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and which ended in the unification of the country under Temüchin, better known by the title of Chingiz-khan [1].

## THE MONGOLS

The empire created by Chingiz-khan was the outcome not merely of political struggles between various peoples and tribes, but also of a class conflict between the steppe aristocracy and the popular elements. Chingiz-khan represented the aristocracy. The popular masses [2]) united under the leadership of his rival Jamukha, who had adopted the title of gurkhan, probably in imitation of the Qara-Khitay. Jamukha incited one enemy after another against him, but Chingiz-khan and his supporters emerged victorious from all these struggles. According to Mongol tradition, Jamukha was taken prisoner and executed after Chin-

[1] [Jenghiz khan.]
[2] [Somewhat doubtful. V.M.].

giz-khan's victory [1] over the Mergit (who lived to the East of Lake Baikal). On the other hand the Muslim historian Juvayni [I, 80] speaks of a stalwart Gurkhan [2] who joined the Muslims after escaping from Chingiz-khan and was killed at the taking of Bukhara by the Mongols in 1220. This might suggest that after his failure in Mongolia Jamukha had found refuge in Turkestan.

The events in Mongolia stirred up the "Tatars" on the Turkestan steppes. "Tatar" was at that time the popular name of the Mongols, and later it was used by the Chinese, Muslims and Europeans to designate the Mongol conquerors. The struggle in Mongolia did not end till 1208 when the *Mergit* and *Nayman* living in Western Mongolia were finally defeated. Both these peoples moved southward into the country of the Uyghurs, whence an ancient trade route led into Mongolia. The Nayman had always been under the influence of Uyghur culture and it was in their country that Chingiz-khan became acquainted with the Uyghur script which he adopted for his people.

In 1209 the chief of the *Uyghurs,* who bore the title of *idiqut* opposed the fugitives and defeated them. He withdrew his allegiance from the Qara-Khitay, whose vassal he was, and submitted to Chingiz-khan. After this the Nayman leader, *Küchlük,* crossed into the gurkhan's own territory, i.e. probably into the southern part of the Semirechye. The Mergit took a more northerly route, and somewhat later, in 1216, Chingiz-khan's troops exterminated them in the present-day province of Turghay [3]. The appearance of a Mongol detachment in northern Semirechye in 1211 was probably connected with the pursuit of the Mergit. The Muslim ruler of this region, *Arslan khan Qarluq,* followed the example of the heathen Uyghur *idiqut* and abandoning the Qara-Khitay submitted to Chingiz-khan. A further progress of the Mongols in the West was delayed for some years by the war which broke out between Chingiz-khan and the Chin (Kin) dynasty in Northern China. These complications gave

[1] In the winter of 1204-5.
[2] [Variant: Gök-khan].
[3] East of the Aral sea.

a few years' breathing space to the kingdom which the Nayman Küchlük had founded in Central Asia.

## KÜCHLÜK

According to some reports, Küchlük at first entered into close relations with the gurkhan, who received him as a son. Other reports say that he was in alliance with the Khwarazmshah Sultan Muhammad and other leaders of the Muslim movement. In any case, his later actions show that he had broken with the gurkhan and the Muslims. The gurkhan was taken prisoner and practically deposed, but during his life-time he continued to enjoy the outward honours due to a sovereign, while Küchlük acted in his name.

The clash with S. Muhammad was apparently connected with the splitting up of the Qara-Khitay empire, and hostilities took place both on the Sïr-Darya and in Kahgharia. Once again the Crusaders heard of an attack upon the Muslims from the East and this time the enemy of the Muslims was in fact a Christian. Muslim sources admit that Küchlük and the majority of the Nayman were Christians, but they add that, in the Qara-Khitay empire, Küchlük had succumbed to idolatry, i.e. probably to Buddhism, or the official Chinese cult.

In such circumstances, it was natural that the legend of Prester John should have been transferred to Küchlük. The reports of the Crusaders also contain the perfectly credible[?] statement that, through the intermediary of the Nestorian Patriarch, the head of Islam in person—the Caliph Nāṣir—sought Küchlük's alliance, on the grounds of their common hostility to the "Sultan of Islam", who, like his predecessor, had called upon the Caliph to abandon to him all secular power, even in Baghdad itself.

Even inside his own territory Küchlük had to contend with the Muslims. At the time when he still looked upon them as his allies, he had set free and befriended the khan of Kashghar whom the gurkhan had imprisoned, apparently during the Muslim revolt. On his arrival in Kashghar the khan was killed by the local aristocracy. For four years Küchlük devastated the lands

of Kashghar to avenge the death of his friend, and finally forced the inhabitants into submission.

After that he became an open enemy of the Muslims. For the first and last time, since Islam was introduced into Central Asia, this religion suffered persecution. Public worship was forbidden the Muslims and they were ordered to become either Christians or idolators, or at least to exchange their Muslim for Chinese clothing. Some were punished by the quartering of troops upon them, a measure similar to the "dragonnades" which Louis XIV inflicted on the Huguenots. One of the cases when members of the clergy were put to death is particularly quoted: Shaykh ʿAlā al-din Muhammad of Khotan was nailed to the doors of the madrasa which he himself had built.

At the time when the kingdom of the last gurkhan was rent by internal troubles, a new Muslim principality sprang up in the extreme North-East of the Muslim world as it then was. *Buzar,* a former robber chief, founded it in the region of the present-day Qulja, where Almaliq was the principal town. Buzar too was hostile to Küchlük and, like the khan of Kashghar, he waited on Chingiz-khan. Küchlük succeeded in capturing and killing Buzar during a hunting expedition, but Almalïq, where the power was taken over by Buzar's wife, successfully resisted until the arrival of the relief sent by Chingiz-khan.

It is obvious that, in such conditions, S. Muhammad could not put into execution any of his ambitious schemes, nor could Küchlük think of an offensive against the Sultan. Muhammad was forced to cede to Küchlük some former possessions of the Qarakhanids, such as Farghana and the provinces to the North and East of it, including the cultivated strip of land along the Chirchik and the Arïs. Muslim historians report that the Sultan himself laid waste these regions lest they should benefit Küchlük, but the Chinese sage Chʿang-chʿun who travelled in those parts in 1221 enumerates the towns that lay on his route without any mention of traces of devastation. The frontiers of Muhammad's possessions now ran along the banks of the Sïr-Darya, from Khojand to the estuary. They also included the course of the river below Sauran, over which neither the Sa-

manids, nor the Qarakhanids had held sway. Even in the second half of the twelfth century this area, with the town of Sïghnaq (now the ruins of Sunaq-Qurghan), was still in the possession of non-Muslim Qipchaqs, whereas in the lands lying both upstream and downstream from it Islam had reigned supreme since the beginning of the eleventh century. Sultan Muhammad visited the lower course of the Sïr-Darya on several occasions and led expeditions from thence to the North. During one of these marches, in the summer of 1216, his army clashed with the army of Juchi, Chingiz-khan's eldest son, who was pursuing the Mergit, but after the battle with the Sultan the Mongols retreated under cover of the darkness.

### CHINGIZ AND THE KHWARAZMSHAH

Both parties seem to have taken this encounter for a misunderstanding and it did not hamper the development of the peaceful relations which had been established between the two kingdoms on the Sultan's initiative. His ambassador was received by Chingiz-khan in Peking in the year 1215, in which the Mongols occupied that city, or in the beginning of the year 1216, in which Chingiz-khan returned to Mongolia. The sources quote only one object of this embassy: the Sultan, who had been hoping to conquer China had now learnt that he had been forestalled and the ambassador's duty was to check this piece of intelligence. He may have had other tasks as well: the Sultan may have hoped to find in Chingiz-khan an ally against Küchlük; and while the hostilities with this prince had blocked the usual communications with China through Eastern Turkestan, Chingiz-khan's conquests, which had already reached the northern part of the Semirechye, made it possible to establish a new trade route. Actually a caravan accompanied, or closely followed, the embassy sent to Chingiz-khan. We have no information about the route taken by the embassy and the caravan, nor do we know where Chingiz-khan received the caravan. By analogy with Chingiz-khan's campaign in 1219, we may assume that the embassy and the caravan journeyed across the northern part of the Semirechye, and from thence on to the Irtish. This must have been also the route taken

by the Mongolian embassy and caravan which came to the Sultan's dominions in the spring of 1218 and which must be considered as Chingiz-khan's response to the initiative taken by the Sultan.

This embassy was headed by three Muslims in Chingiz-khan's employ. The task of the ambassadors was to offer the Sultan peace and safe commercial relations. The Sultan gave a favourable answer, though he resented being addressed by Chingiz as a "son",—i.e., more or less as a vassal. Soon after the departure of the ambassadors, a caravan of 450 merchants, all Muslims, arrived in Otrar [1], bringing with them 500 loaded camels. The merchants were detained as spies and murdered, and their wares looted. Only one camel-driver escaped and returned to Mongolia. The sources give contradictory accounts of the circumstances in which this disastrous event took place, and of the respective responsibility of the Sultan and the governor of Otrar. In any case, the Sultan took the entire responsibility upon himself when he ordered the killing of one, or, according to another report, all three of Chingiz-khan's envoys [2] who had come to claim compensation and the extradition of the culprit. These facts put together show that the Mongol expedition against Turkestan was directly provoked by the Sultan's action. There is nothing to confirm the report, accepted by many scholars, that it was the Caliph who had called in the Mongols against the Sultan. Much more credible is the report, already quoted [3], on the Caliph's relations with Küchlük, the Sultan's immediate neighbour and Chingiz-khan's enemy.

In 1218, and apparently after the events of Otrar, Chingiz-khan sent his general Jebe-noyon against Küchlük. The Uyghur *idiqut*, who was no less hostile to Islam than Küchlük, took part in this expedition with a small force of 300 men. On the other hand, the Mongol general proclaimed himself protector of religious freedom and promised that every man would be allowed to profess the faith of his fathers. Therefore the occupation of

[1] The frontier-town of Muhammad's territory, situated on the eastern bank of the Sïr-Darya.

[2] This time the envoys were non-Muslims.

[3] Above p. 34.

the southern part of the Semirechye, of Farghana and Kashgharia was practically bloodless. Küchlük's Muslim vassals and subjects, amongst them the ruler of Farghana [1], went over to the Mongols. The population massacred Küchlük's soldiers who were quartered upon them. Juvayni heard later from the Kashgharians that the coming of the Mongols had been a divine mercy for them. Küchlük who fled from Kashghar to Sarïkol [2], was overtaken and killed. In contrast to what had happened under Küchlük, the remnants of the Qara-Khitay, and probably of the Nayman, merged with the Muslims and adopted Muslim dress. The task of delivering the Muslims from the oppressions of the infidels, which had proved too much for the Sultan of Islam, was successfully carried out by a heathen general.

These events made it difficult for Sultan Muhammad to rally round him both the people and the army, on the pretext of defending Islam against the invasion of the *kafirs*. Somewhat earlier the Sultan had irritated the clergy by his hostile actions against the Caliph. The troops which he sent against Baghdad in 1217 were destroyed in the Kurdish mountains partly by the snow and partly in skirmishes with the Kurds, and this disaster was interpreted as a divine retribution for an impious expedition. Moreover, the Sultan was on bad terms with the Turkish military aristocracy who rallied round his mother Turkan [Tärkän]-khatun, who ruled in Khwarazm. In 1216 the Sultan put to death, as an adherent of Turkan-khatun, the popular Shaykh Majd al-din, a disciple of Shaykh Najm al-din Kubrā, the founder of the Kubravi order of darvishes which exists to this day. Finally, the massacre in Otrar of Muslim merchants of whom Chingiz had made himself the avenger must have destroyed the last possibility of understanding between the Sultan of Islam and the representatives of Muslim world trade. A comparison of the events of the thirteenth century with the events which took place in China in the beginning of the twentieth century is interesting: in contrast to what can be observed in modern European policy, the medieval history of Islam shows how slender was at that time the con-

[1] A native of Balasaghun.

[2] [According to Juvayni, to Badakhshan, V.M.]

nection between the progress of Muslim trade and the political might of the nations to which the trader belonged.

## MONGOL CONQUEST OF TURKESTAN

Muslim merchants accompanied Chingiz-khan on his expedition against the Sultan and were his trusted counsellors. To them he owed the detailed acquaintance with geographical conditions, apparent from his plan of campaign. Chingiz-khan spent the summer of 1219 on the banks of the Irtish. In the autumn he was joined in Northern Semirechye by two Muslim rulers, Arslan khan Qarluq and Suqnaq-tegin of Almaliq with their armies, and by the idiqut of the Uyghurs, Barchuq, with his force. On an earlier occasion Chingiz-khan had informed the Sultan that he regarded him as the sovereign of the West, and himself as the sovereign of the East. This high opinion of his adversary may have affected the character of his military preparations. This time too, as in 1211 during the Chinese campaign, Chingiz-khan and his sons accompanied the army. The Sultan was aware of the approach of the foe but was unable to devise effective measures to meet them. His kingdom lacked unity because of his unfriendly relations with his own mother. Even the bureaucratic centralisation had been upset when the vizirial powers were invested in a council of six dignitaries. The people, who gained nothing from this reform, thought that on the whole it was easier to satisfy one man than six. In order to finance the war, taxes for three years ahead were collected, but the funds were not spent according to plan. The Sultan had meant to build long walls around Samarqand and its suburbs but this plan was immediately given up. The extreme unpopularity of the Sultan and his dynasty with the population and army hampered any consistent organisation of the defence. The Sultan was aware that if he concentrated his numerous military forces on some particular front, such as the Sïr-Darya line, this army would turn against him as soon as it had defeated the foreign invader. Consequently the troops were quartered in different towns and settlements, and this explains why the Mongols succeeded in conquering Turkestan without having to fight battles in the open field, as had

been the case during the earlier invasions. All they had to do was to reduce the towns, a prob'em successfully solved even by small bodies of troops. Thus the force sent from Otrar up the Sïr-Darya was only 5,000 strong.

When at the end of 1219 Chingiz-khan reached Otrar he detached two bodies of troops from his main army: one, under the command of his sons *Chaghatay* and *Ögedey,* was left behind to invest Otrar, and the other, under the command of his eldest son *Juchi,* was sent down the Sïr-Darya. Both these forces had gained their objectives by about April 1220. From Otrar Chingiz-khan marched with the bulk of his army across the Qïzïl-Qum desert to Nūr-Ata, and from thence to Bukhara and Samarqand. Bukhara was taken in February 1220, which shows that the crossing of the desert was conditioned by the season of the year. There are no grounds for the opinion that the march across the desert indicates a change which has since taken place in the physico-geographical conditions of the country. Chingiz-khan reached Samarqand in March 1220 and was joined by his two sons who by that time had taken Otrar. After the fall of Samarqand, part of their forces was detailed against Khojand where the Mongols met with stubborn resistance on the part of the governor Timur-Malik. 20,000 Mongols and 50,000 prisoners took part in the siege. These numbers are typical of the system of warfare favoured by the Mongols. When they invested towns they drove before them prisoners taken from among the local peasants, using them as shields from the arrows of the besieged garrison and forcing them to clear the way for the Mongol army. Sometimes the prisoners were disposed in military formation and furnished with banners to trick the besieged into believing the Mongol army larger than it really was. When Timur-Malik was compelled to abandon the town, he sailed down the Sïr-Darya, forced a passage through the Mongol troops occupying the banks and then, leaving his boats, rode on to Khwarazm.

Chingiz-khan spent the summer in Qarshi, captured Tirmidh in the autumn and in the spring of 1221 crossed the Amu-Darya and occupied Balkh. He did not re-cross the river till October 1222. In 1221 the armies of Juchi, Chaghatay and Ögedey con-

quered *Khwarazm*. In the same year Chingiz-Khan's youngest son *Tuli* captured and destroyed the towns of Khorasan, including Marv. The detachments sent across the Amu-Darya in 1220, in pursuit of Sultan-Muhammad, penetrated still further to the West. In 1223 they defeated the *Russians* on the Kalka and rejoined Chingiz-khan across the steppes, north of the Caspian sea, though a considerable part of this force perished in an ambush laid by the Volga Bulghars.

In many places the Muslims put up an energetic resistance and even succeeded in repelling the Mongols for a time. In 1220 Timur-Malik made a thrust from Khwarazm across the steppes bordering on the eastern shores of the Aral Sea, and dislodged Juchi's men from the town of Shahrkand (now the Jankant ruins), near the estuary of the Sïr-Darya. In 1222 a successful expedition was led against Bukhara from Marv which had temporarily shaken off Mongol domination. Not until 1223 had all resistance been definitely crushed. By that time Chingiz-khan with his sons was on the Qulan-bashi steppe, in the eastern part of the present-day Sïr-Darya province, slowly making his way homewards.

Sultan Muhammad and the other members of his dynasty took only a small part in these events. In the beginning of the year 1220 the Sultan with his troops was in Kālif [1], and apparently hoped to defend the line of the Amu-Darya, but after the fall of Samarqand he left the river even before the Mongols had put in an appearance. After wandering aimlessly through Persia he found refuge on an island in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian sea where he died in the same year (1220). The news of her son's flight moved his mother Turkan-khatun to leave Khwarazm despite the assurance of Chingiz-khan, who was aware of her hostile relations with her son and tried to win her over by protesting that he was only avenging the massacre of the merchants in Otrar and would not molest her possessions. On leaving Khwarazm Turkan-khatun retired with all her adherents to two castles in Mazandaran. Both these castles were taken in the summer of 1220. The male members of the dynasty were put to

[1] Which down to the 18th century stood on the *left* bank of the Oxus.

death. The queen and the princesses were captured and, after the conclusion of the campaign, carried off to Mongolia. Sultan Muhammad's three grown-up sons were with him on the island, and after his death they returned to Khwarazm. The eldest, *Jalāl al-din,* was proclaimed Sultan, but the mutinous spirit of the troops forced him, and then his brothers, to leave that province. The departure of the members of the dynasty put an end to all internecine strife, and one of Turkan-khatun's relatives was proclaimed Sultan. Gurgānj, the capital, was taken by the Mongols only after a stiff resistance, for which the garrison and all the inhabitants were put to the sword, with the exception of the artisans and the young women and children who were led off into captivity. During the year 1221 Sultan Jalal al-din fought the Mongols in Afghanistan, but it was only on the banks of the Indus that he ventured to give battle to Chingiz-khan's main force (on 24 November). With the remnants of his defeated army he managed to escape to India. Later he returned and played a certain political role in Persia and Transcaucasia (till 1231), but he never again appeared in Turkestan and Khwarazm. Jalal al-din completely eclipsed his father in the memory of the Mongols who credited him with everything that was known about the Sultan, even the massacre of the caravan in Otrar.

### CHᶜANG-CHᶜUN'S JOURNEY

The Chinese monk Chᶜang-chᶜun, whom Chingiz-khan had summoned to the West, was an eye-witness of the situation obtaining in Turkestan immediately after the Mongol invasion. Chᶜang-chᶜun spent the winter of 1221-2 in Samarqand, and in the spring of 1222 travelled to Chingiz-khan's headquarters in Afghanistan. He spent part of the summer in Samarqand and in the autumn was again in Afghanistan to re-cross the Amu-Darya with Chingiz-khan in October. With the aid of the artisans in their service, the Mongols repaired the roads which in those days were in a better state than they are now. Forty eight wooden bridges were built in the Talki defile near the Sayram-Nor lake, where the road crosses and re-crosses the little river. Chᶜang-chᶜun crossed the Chu on a wooden bridge, and the

Talas on a stone one. There was a floating bridge across the Amu-Darya. The building and repair of bridges was the concern of Chingiz-khan's second son *Chaghatay*. The greater part of Central Asia was destined to become his fief and, even in his father's life-time, he exercised a certain degree of sovereignty in this area. The *ordu* of Chaghatay stood in the Qulja region, to the south of the Ili. The consequent importance of Qulja explains the presence in Almaliq of a Mongol governor alongside the local prince. Samarqand was the only Muslim town administered by a non-Muslim Qara-Khitay governor. Measures somewhat similar to those of Küchlük were taken against the local Muslim population in Samarqand, though not on religious grounds, and Muslims could own real estate only in common with Qara-Khitays, Chinese and Tanguts. Many Chinese artisans seem to have come to Samarqand with the Mongols, yet the town retained its Muslim character. On Fridays, men and women, who at that time still had access to communal religious worship, hastened to the mosque. Those who abstained were punished, a fact showing that the lower ranks of the police were still recruited among Muslims. Ch'ang-ch'un was told that before the Mongol invasion the town had over 100,000 families of which only a quarter remained after the invasion. Life went on as of old and there were many goods in the bazaars. Ch'ang-ch'un thought the gardens even better than the Chinese but there were many hungry people about, and on his return to Samarqand he distributed amongst them what remained of the provisions issued to himself. Ruined peasants gathered into robber bands which operated in the vicinity, and the glare of flames could often be seen from the town.



Ch'ang-ch'un's report shows that, as soon as military operations were over, the Mongols took measures to restore the welfare of the conquered regions. The opinion that the Mongols did not appreciate culture and would have turned all the land into grazing grounds is contradicted by the facts. The Mongol rulers, at least, were bound to realise that from town-dwellers and landowners they could obtain a better revenue than from nomads.

It was also evident that the administration of settled areas could not be entrusted to Mongols or nomads without loss of revenue to the state, and in particular to the khan's clan who regarded the treasury as their common property. The concept of family ownership was transferred from the domain of private law into the domain of state law. The empire belonged to the whole family, every prince and princess being entitled to part of the revenue, and the administration of the empire was a common task, though its methods varied according to circumstances. In Chingiz-khan's life-time, the authority of the head of the family was recognised by all the members, and he alone took all the decisions. Under Chingiz-khan's successor *Ögedey* (1229-1241) this personal rule was superseded by a council of representatives from all the branches of the khan's family. Ögedey had inherited neither his fathers genius, nor his strong will, but his personal qualities fitted him above all for the role of the unifying centre very much needed by the dynasty and the empire.

One single political administration, acting in the name of the Great Khan, prevailed throughout the whole empire, although Chingiz-khan, even in his life-time, had allotted separate fiefs to his sons. In this case too the rule followed private law: the eldest sons were given their share by their father during his life-time, while the youngest inherited the father's original personal property. Thus Chingiz-khan's youngest son *Tuli* received in heritage Mongolia and the bulk of the regular Mongol army. The degree of remoteness of the fiefs corresponded to the age of the sons: as the frontiers of the empire expanded, so the fief of the eldest son *Juchi* moved further and further to the West. Both Chingiz-khan and Juchi died in 1227, the son slightly predeceasing his father, and at that time Juchi's fief comprised the territories from the Irtïsh up to the limits "reached by the hooves of the Mongols' horses". Out of the cultivated area of Central Asia, it included the lands along the lower course of the Sïr-Darya and the northern part of Khwarazm with its capital. Soon after the Mongol massacre, Gurgānj, or *Urganch* as the Mongols called it, was rebuilt on a new site near the old one, and had again become an important commercial centre. Juchi's fief bordered on

the Sïr-Darya and in the Semirechye upon the fief of *Chaghatay*. Ögedey had received Western Mongolia with Tarbaghatay. Despite the vastness of the empire, the *ordus* of the three elder sons were situated at comparatively short distances from each other: Juchi's *ordu* was on the Irtïsh, Ögedey's near Chughuchaq, and Chaghatay's on the Ili. On being proclaimed Great Khan Ögedey left his fief [1] to take up residence in his father's original home on the Orkhon. Here in Qaraqorum, the ruins of which are situated near the present-day monastery of Erdeni-tsu, Muslim and Chinese architects, with the assistance of Western European and Russian artisans, built palaces for him and his successors. It would seem that a site on which, within a small area and in a short space of time [2], buildings were erected by representatives of the most diverse civilisations, should yield much valuable material for the study of the cultural history of Central Asia and other lands, yet the first attempts at excavating in 1912 did not realise such hopes, and no other attempts have been made since.

It was natural that Muslim civilisation should be represented at the Mongol court mostly by town-dwellers of Mawarannahr. During Ögedey's reign, this latter country was governed by *Mahmūd Yalavach*, a Khwarazmian appointed by the Great Khan and resident in Khojand. Under him a peasant revolt broke out in 1238 in Bukhara which by that time had recovered from the devastations of 1220. The revolt was directed both against the Mongols and the local aristocracy. After the revolt had been put down, Mahmūd's intervention saved the town from the imminent reprisals. It is not clear what relations existed between Mahmūd and Chaghatay's Muslim minister *Habash-ʿAmīd*, who, according to some reports, was a native of Otrar, and according to others, of Karmina. Like Mahmud he belonged to the wealthy merchant class and was a cultured man. Chaghatay, who was regarded as a resolute upholder of Mongol customary law and an enemy of Islam, could not have chosen his counsellor from amongst Mus-

[1] After Ögedey's death his body was taken back to his original fief.
[2] The traveller Rubruquis compares Qaraqorum with the Faubourg St. Germain. Qaraqorum ceased to be the capital in 1260.

lim zealots. An epistle which an influential shaykh of Bukhara, Sayf al-din Bākharzi, addressed to Ḥabash-ᶜAmīd, is full of reproaches for the insufficient protection of Islam. The execution of several members of the clergy—Yūsuf Sakkākī and Bahā al-din of Marghinān—was laid at Habash-ᶜAmīd's door. On the other hand, he is said to have been buried in 1260 in a khānaqā built by himself, which shows that he too was a founder of pious institutions.

Soon after 1238, Mahmūd Yalavach, who had fallen out with Chaghatay, had to leave Mawarannahr. Ögedey put up with this violation of his own appointment and accepted his brother's excuses. Mahmud was made governor of Peking and died there in 1254. Still under Ögedey, Mahmud's son, Masᶜūd bek, was appointed governor of the whole agricultural zone of Central Asia extending from the Uyghur country down to Khwarazm. He held this charge till his death in 1289, despite all the upheavals which occurred within this half-century. He was confirmed in his office by Ögedey's son *Güyük* (1246-1248) who was considered an enemy of Islam. Masᶜūd bek remained in office even after the events of 1251, when the power in the empire passed from Ögedey's line to Tuli's eldest son, *Mönke* (1251-9). The clans both of Chaghatay and Ögedey were destroyed on the accusation of plotting against Mönke, who had been proclaimed Great Khan. While Chaghatay's fief was nominally ruled by *Orqïna*[1] his grandson's widow, the actual power in the empire was divided between the descendants of Tuli and Juchi The line of demarcation between the sphere of influence of Batu, son of Juchi, and that of Mönke passed somewhat to the East of Talas. Mawarannahr was administered by Batu, and after his death by his brother *Berke,* who had embraced Islam and was supported by the Muslim clergy. Orqïna was also called a protector of Islam, and sometimes even a Muslim. Masᶜūd bek's authority as governor of the agricultural regions was recognised in both parts of the empire. In 1251 he was in the Uyghur province, and in 1255 in Samarqand, where he entertained Mönke's brother *Hulagu* who was setting out at the head of an army on the conquest

[1] Barthold spells throughout: *Ergene* (?).

of Hither Asia. It was about at this time that Masᶜūd built a large madrasa in Bukhara, apparently on the Registan, which was called Masᶜūdiya after him. Still more remarkable is the donation made by the Christian mother of Mönke and Hulagu for the building of another madrasa in Bukhara. Each of these two educational institutions counted more than one thousand students. No such large madrasas seem to have existed in Turkestan before the Mongol invasion. The Masᶜūdiya of Bukhara was destroyed in 1273 during the capture of the town by the Persian Mongols (see below p. 50), but later it must have been restored for its builder was buried there in 1289.

Chaghatay's grandson *Alghuy* also availed himself of Masᶜūd bek's support when in the early twelve-sixties he took advantage of the feuds between Tuli's sons to restore the power of his house in Central Asia. To the regret of the Muslims, and especially of the shaykhs, Berke's governors were driven out of the towns of Mawarannahr. The son of Shaykh Sayf al-din Bākharzi was killed, whereas Habash-ᶜAmīd's son went over to Alghuy. Otrar, which was the last town to be wrested by Alghuy from Berke, had by that time become an important commercial centre. The conquest of Otrar was financed by the sums collected by Masᶜūd bek. Alghuy was succeeded in 1266 by Orqīna's Muslim son *Mubārakshah*. His accession to the throne did not take place in the customary *ordu* on the Ili, but on the Angren nearer to the Muslim cultural centres. This fact suggests that by that time the Central Asian Mongols were succumbing to the influence of Mus'im culture. The next khan *Boraq* [1], who had taken Masᶜūd into his service, was also a Muslim, but when he died in 1271, he was buried according to the heathen ritual. Boraq had to recognise the sovereignty of Ögedey's grandson Khaydu who firmly established the independence of the Central Asian Mongol kingdom. In 1269 a diet was assembled in Talas to consider the organisation of this state. It was laid down that the princes should live in the mountains or on the steppes and keep away from the settled regions. The administration of the latter and the collection of the revenue for the benefit of the

[1] Better: *Baraq*. V.M.

princes was entrusted to a special official appointed by the head of the state. Khaydu's choice fell again on Masʿūd bek. The latter, after his death, was succeeded in turn by his three sons, of whom the first two ruled under Khaydu (who died in 1301), and the third, who lived in Kashghar, under Khaydu's son and successor Chapar.

## MONGOL RULE IN CENTRAL ASIA

Consequently the fundamental traits of Chingiz-khan's empire survived in Central Asia longer than in any other region conquered by the Mongols. In the middle of the thirteenth century the empire was still regarded as a united whole. Despite the actual division of the empire into two parts, the coins were struck exclusively in the name of Mönke-khan, even in the dominions of Batu and Berke [1]. That large numbers of such coins have cropped up is probably due to the fact that for the taxation in kind prevalent under Ögedey, the Mongols had by this time substituted taxation in money.

As a result of the events of the twelve-sixties, the Mongol Great Khaqan became Emperor of China and transferred his capital from Qaraqorum to Peking; in the meantime three independent Mongol states were formed: in Russia (the Golden Horde), Persia and Central Asia. In the first two, a certain administrative unity was soon established, as symbolised by the coins bearing the names of the local khans. In Central Asia the khan remained for a long time a nomad chief, taking no direct part in the administration of the agricultural zone. He did not create any administrative machinery, nor even strike coins. Besides the supreme governor of the agricultural regions appointed by the khan, there remained in various towns hereditary rulers (*maliks*) who struck their own coins. Historical texts, inscriptions and coins mention maliks in Bukhara, Otrar, Shāsh (Tashkent), Khojand, Farghana [2], Talas, and even in Almalïq, in spite of its proximity to the khan's *ordu* on the Ili.

[1] Before Mönke's time the names of the Mongol khans seldom appeared on the coins.

[2] Its capital was Uzgand.

There seems to have been no malik in Kashghar where the civil administration was headed by the sadr. The sadr of Almaliq having been banished by the malik also took refuge in Kashghar. The struggle between the aristocracy and the democratic elements, represented respectively by the *sadr* and the *malik,* continued under the Mongols. Bukhara was at one time governed by a Chinese Cho-jang Tai-fu (?) which explains the coining in Bukhara of copper money with a bilingual—Chinese and Arabic—legend, a fact that stands unique in the history of Central Asia.

To conciliate the interests of the nomads and the sedentary population proved more difficult in Central Asia than in any other Mongol state. The Mongol conquest was not a migration of peoples, nor was it provoked by an urge to find new territories. Chingiz-khan's conquests made hardly any difference in the ethnical distribution of the Mongol race. The overwhelming majority of the Mongols remained in Mongolia, whither Chingiz-khan himself returned and where his successors continued to reside. Out of the total number of the Mongol regular army of 129,000, the youngest son Tuli received 104,000, with Mongolia as his fief. Each of the three other sons of Chingiz-khan received 4.000, and the remaining 13,000 were distributed among other members of the dynasty. Nevertheless the Mongol expeditions were bound to cause a certain shifting of the nomad peoples from East to West, and in general an increase of the nomad element in Central Asia. In the years between the death of Chaghatay (1242) and the accession of Khaydu (1269), when Central Asia had no strong khan, the proximity of the nomads, who alone possessed military importance, affected the welfare of the agricultural regions, and especially of the towns, far more than the impact of the Mongol invasion. According to the missionary *Rubruquis,* in the part of the Semirechye situated to the North of the Ili, which had hardly suffered from military operations, many towns had disappeared about 1253 to make way for pasture land. In 1259 the Chinese traveller Ch'ang-tê also saw many ruins in the valley of the Chu.

These reports seem to refer to the smaller towns. The more

important centres successfully resisted the pressure of the steppe for a long time. Rubriquis passed through the "Saracen", i.e. Muslim, town of Kinchat (Kanjak), on the large river Talas, to the North of the town of Talas. To the North of the Ili there was "a good town" where lived "Saracens speaking Persian". Still further North was a "large town" Cailac (Qayalïq) in which Rubruquis for the first time saw Buddhists who had three temples in this Muslim town, the one-time capital of Arslan khan Qarluq. A short distance beyond Qayalïq there was a village with an entirely Christian population and a Christian church, which struck the travellers who "had seen no churches for a long time". This shows that when crossing the Chu valley Rubruquis had missed the settlement of those Christians whose cemetery with funerary inscriptions is situated near Pishpek[1] and Toqmaq. No such Christian remains have been found in the locality where he mentions the Christian village.

In those days the Europeans were not yet utilising the trade routes across Central Asia. The pioneers of European trade in those parts were apparently the Venetian brothers Nicolo and Maffeo *Polo,* who arrived in Bukhara in 1262 from the Golden Horde, and left for China in 1265.

The twelve-seventies were the most disastrous years in the entire history of Bukhara. In 1273 it was laid waste by the invasion of the Persian Mongols. Three years later it suffered greatly from local troubles and remained depopulated for seven years. Khaydu commissioned Masʿūd to restore the city. During his reign the entirely new town of Andijan was built, which remained the principal town of Farghana down to the eighteenth century, a proof that the site had been well chosen. As neither Khaydu, nor his successors lived in Andijan, this town must have been built exclusively for purposes of trade, a rare example in the history of town-building in Central Asia.

The Mongol Empire temporarily brought together into one state the civilised countries of the Far East and of Hither Asia. In the West this political entity included such territories as Khwarazm and the basin of the Volga, between which there

[1] [Now Frunze, the capital of the Qirghiz republic.]

had existed only some cultural and economic links. Such unification was bound to promote international relations, but the feuds within the khan's clan which began in the twelve-sixties hampered the development of trade. These events did not affect sea-trade between China and Persia, both ruled by the Chingizids of the same branch and closely allied with each other. The greatest sufferer was the Central Asian Mongol state whose welfare depended on caravan trade. For this reason in 1304, soon after Khaydu's death, this particular state sent out a call to all the Mongol rulers inviting them to re-establish the unity of the empire in the only form possible at the time, namely as a federation of states under the nominal sovereignity of the Chinese Emperor and with complete freedom of trade between the federated states. A treaty to this effect was concluded but could not be put into practice, because already in 1305 the Central Asian Mongols were torn amongst themselves and supremacy passed once more from the descendants of Ögedey to those of Chaghatay.

### CHAGHATAY STATE

From that time dates the term "Chaghatay state". "Chaghatay" was the name adopted by the nomads on whom depended the military strength of the dynasty, and they remained known under this name even after no khans of the Chaghatay branch were left. The literary language which towards that time was created in Central Asia also became known as "Chaghatay". In fact no other name connected with the Mongol conquest achieved a similar fame. In the khanate of the Golden Horde, the one to bequeath his name to the nation was neither Juchi nor Batu, but their descendant Uzbek (1312-1340) under whom Islam and Islamic culture took a firm hold.

In the Chaghatay khanate a decisive step towards the adoption of the traditional Islamic culture [1], if not of Islam as a religion, was made during the reign of *Kebek* (1318-1326). Kebek was the first of the khans, after Mubārakshah and Boraq, to take up residence in Mawarannahr. This time the khan's choice fell upon a place in the neighbourhood of Nakhshab, in the valley

[1] *Add:* and statehood.

of the Qashqa-Darya. A palace was built for Kebek at a distance of 2 farsakhs (12-15 kilometres) from Nakhshab and from this palace the town of Qarshi took its name *(qarshi* in Mongolian meaning "a palace"). The ruins of Shulluk-täpä correspond to the pre-Mongolian town, and the ruins Zohāk-i Mārān (near the railway station) to the fourteenth and fifteenth century town. Kebek introduced into the Chaghatay state a monetary system similar to those of Persia and of the Golden Horde, and common to the whole state. He struck dirhams and dinars, the "dinar" being now a large silver coin weighing 30 grains, and there were 6 dirhams in a dinar. In Central Asia these coins were later called *kebeks* after Kebek khan. Actually the disappearance of copper dirhams and the re-introduction of silver currency in Central Asia date back to the second half of the 13th century. Kebek seems to have been also responsible for the division of the country into small administrative and fiscal districts — *tümäns,* on the Persian model. In Farghana and Kashgharia the term *örchin* was used instead of *tümän.*

Kebek did not become a Muslim [1], but was considered a just ruler and a protector of the Muslims. His brother *Tarmāshīrīn* (1326-1334) [2], who also lived near Qarshi, was converted to Islam, and this event, as a contemporary avers, had a happy effect on the trade with the Muslim world. On the other hand, the unity of the empire suffered from the khans' moving into the towns and breaking away from the Mongol common law which was based on the nomad mode of life. According to Chinese sources, Tarmashirin's brother *Durra(Duva?)-Timur,* whom the Chinese regarded as the ruler of the whole khanate, reigned in the Eastern provinces simultaneously with his brother. His son *Buzan* put himself at the head of the malcontents who resented Tarmashirin's actions and the latter was deposed and killed. The troubles which ensued lasted for more than ten years and dealt a fatal blow to urban life in the Semirechye. A contemporary author gives a vivid description of the ruined country

[1] Notwithstanding this, a mausoleum of Islamic type was erected over his tomb.

[2] [The name is apparently of Sanskrit (Buddhist) origin: *Dharma Śrī.*]

which he had from the mouth of travellers: "From afar you can see a well-built village surrounded by blooming vegetation. You approach it in the hope of meeting the inhabitants only to find the houses quite empty. All the inhabitants of the country are nomads and have no use for agriculture." By the middle of the fourteenth century there were no longer any towns in the Chu valley. On the Talas there still survived the town of Yanï (*yängi* "new") to which Timur appointed his governors. Here too urban life came to an end in the fifteenth century, and in the sixteenth it became no longer possible to identify the various groups of ruins on the Chu and the Talas.

### THE AMIR RULERS

During these troublous years Mawarannahr for a time submitted again to the authority of the khans living in the East. The khans residing in Mawarannahr also undertook expeditions to the East. Finally in the thirteen-forties, under *Qazan-khan,* a struggle broke out in Mawarannahr itself between the khans and the Turkish aristocracy. Qazan khan lived near Qarshi (p. 52), in the palace of Zanjīr-sarāy, at two days' distance from the town. Not only the khan, but the principal nomad clans too possessed definite territories both in Mawarannahr and in neighbouring Afghanistan. There were four of these clans, representing the *four* thousands which Chingiz had given to Juchi: the *Jalayir* near Khojand, the *Barlas* on the Qashqa-Darya, the *Qauchin* in the basin of the upper Amu-Darya, and the *Arlat* in Northern Afghanistan. Thus the former system of apanages [1] under which the fiefs were allotted to members of the khan's family, was now modified so that the fiefs were given to the chiefs of powerful clans. Qazan khan's attempt to restore a strong central power in Mawarannahr brought about his downfall (1346), following which the power passed into the hands of the *"amirs"* of the principal clans, this Perso-Arabic title rendering the Turkish *bek* and the Mongol *noyon.* The amir who became head of the state was called *ulus amir* (*ulus*—"tribal area,

[1] [The author uses the mediaeval Russian term *udyel.* V.M.]

state"). The descendants of Chingiz-khan alone were recognised as having the right to be called *khan,* and from amongst them puppet rulers were chosen to occupy the throne. A similar regime was established in the eastern part of the former Chaghatay khanate, where the principal clan was the *Dughlat,* masters of Western Kashgaria and of Southern Semirechyé up to Lake Issik-kul. The further developments in the two parts of the khanate were different. Mawarannahr produced a ruler like Timur whose descendants inherited his power and finally dispensed with the puppet khans. On the other hand, in Kashgharia the khans showed themselves better men than the amirs. A dynasty of khans was re-established, the power of the Dughlat amirs gradually eliminated and the former system of apanages re-introduced, with members of the khan's family holding the fiefs. The traditions of the Mongol state organisation survived longer in the West, whereas the nomads of the East remained more attached to the national Mongol traditions. The nomads of Mawarannahr called themselves *Chaghatay* and looked upon their eastern neighbours as free-booters-*jätä.* In the Chaghatay khanate the terms *chaghatay* and *jätä* were used as opposite terms, in the same way as the terms *uzbek* (those of the khan's army) and *qazaq* (freebooters who had broken away from their lawful khans) were used in the khanate of the Golden Horde. At the same time the nomads of Kashgharia and of the Semirechye called themselves *Moghol* [1], while referring to their western neighbours as *qaraunas,* i.e. half-breeds, men of mixed descent.

To the Mongol political and national traditions was opposed the idea of Islam and Muslim law. Even the Mongol states, when they embraced Islam attempted at times to exploit the *Sharīᶜat* in their own interest, although more often the latter was used as a weapon against the Mongols. Both the Chaghatays and the "Moghols" were Muslims, as were also the Mongol rulers in Persia and in the Golden Horde. But in the national and administrative life of the nomads religious principles held

[1] Thus the national name of the Mongols is still pronounced by the "Moghuls" of Northern Afghanistan, the last descendants of the Mongol conquerors who have retained their name and their language.

only second place; therefore the fall of the Mongol state could be regarded as the victory of religion.

## KHWARAZM

During the breaking up of the Mongol empire, local Muslim dynasties sprang up in various provinces. On their coins religious formulas sometimes replaced the ruler's name. One such legend: "the kingdom belongs to God" stresses the theocratic principle and rejects any political organisation unconnected with religion. Coins bearing similar mottoes were also struck in Khwarazm whose territories were re-united into an independent state in the thirteen-sixties, following the dismemberment of the Chaghatay kingdom and the outbreak of disorders in the Golden Horde after the death of Janibek khan (1357). The new rulers of Khwarazm belonged to the Turkicised Mongol clan of *Qungrat*. When the Chaghatay state, which had grown in power under Timur, tried to recover the southern part of Khwarazm, the ruler of Khwarazm, Husayn Ṣūfī, replied to Himur's ambassador: "your kingdom is an area of war" (i.e. an infidel state), and the duty of Muslims is to make war on you". Thus the Khwarazmians did not look upon the Chaghatays as Muslims, just as the Chaghatays, who sold captive Moghols into slavery, denied the Islam of the latter.

The development of the caravan trade under Mongol dominion was particularly profitable for Khwarazm and its capital Urganch. Agriculture was much less developed than in pre-Mongol times or in our days. On his way from Urganch to Bukhara in 1333, the Arab traveller *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* did not see a single village with the exception of Kāt (now Shaykh ᶜAbbās-valī), but he described Urganch as "the largest, most important and most beautiful" town in the Turkish lands. The crowds in its bazaars were so dense that it was difficult to pass. European travellers also speak of Urganch as a large merchant town with a good market for every kind of goods. After the Mongol devastations the town was so speedily restored that the cultural traditions of pre-Mongol times suffered no interruption. The school of speculative theologians, the *Muᶜtazilites*, which had been founded

in Khwarazm at the beginning of the twelfth, subsisted till the end of the fourteenth century. Already in the twelfth century there existed some Turkish literature of pious Islamic inspiration in Khwarazm and along the lower course of the Sïr-Darya. Similarly important for the development of Turkish literature was the rôle of these regions when they formed part of the khanate of the Golden Horde. The writers of this region preceded those of the Chaghatay khanate, although the literary Turkish language of these parts was later comprised under the term "Chaghatay". Khwarazm attracted scholars and artists who subsequently became conspicuous in the development of art and science in Timur's empire. The magnificent buildings of the early fourteenth century, which still survive among the ruins of Old Urganch, must have influenced the constructions of Timur, as well as those of the Golden Horde, as for example in Bulghar (on the Volga). Only a close study of these Khwarazmian monuments, and especially of the remarkable mausoleum of Türä-bek-khanïm will permit us to assess the extent of this influence.

Commercial relations with the basin of the Volga and the Caucasus may have been affected by the fact, now definitely established, that after the Mongol invasions the Amu-Darya had once more worked its way into the Sarïkamish depression and from thence to the Caspian Sea along the bed of the Uzboy. [1] We know the name of the village which stood at the mouth of the river on the Caspian and from which it was possible to navigate upstream, although there was no direct water-way down to the Caspian because of the rapids on the Uzboy, which reached a height of 28 feet. It is also stated that in the early fifteenth century the Sïr-Darya flowed not into the Aral Sea but into the Amu-Darya. This report finds some support in the decadence of the towns along the lower course of the Sïr-Darya: they still existed in the middle of the fourteenth century in the region which, as far as we know, did not suffer damage either from Timur's expeditions, or from other military events of a later date.

[1] [This statement has been rendered doubtful by recent detailed research on the spot. V.M.].

Timur belonged to the *Barlas* clan and was born near Shahrisabz. He first distinguished himself in 1360 when he went over to the Moghol khan *Tughluq-Timur* who, for a short time, occupied Mawarannahr. As a result Timur became the prince of the Barlas fief. In the years that followed he fought simetimes in alliance with the Moghols, and sometimes against them, together with the other Chaghatay amirs. In 1365, the Chaghatay amirs, including Timur, abandoned the country to the mercies of the Moghols, and the power in Samarqand passed into the hands of the leaders of a popular movement. These latter successfully repulsed the attacks of the invaders, but in the following year fell victims to the treachery of the amirs, who had lulled their vigilance by expressions of confidence and gratitude for the successful defence of the town. Similar methods were used by the amirs in their bickerings amongst themselves, and they also served Timur in achieving his triumph. The main cause of the risings against the Ulus Amir was the same as that of the former risings against the khan, namely the wish of the supreme ruler to reside and keep his treasure in a fortified town where he could feel independent of the other members of the tribe. Such had been the desire of Timur's predecessor the amir *Husayn* whose choice had fallen on Balkh. Timur tried to dissuade him, quoting the example of his uncle Abdullah against whom the Chaghatays had rebelled when he made Samarqand his capital. Husayn disregarded this advice, and Timur's prophecy was fulfilled, Timur himself on this occasion heading the faction of malcontents. Husayn was deposed and killed. Yet no sooner did Timur succeed him in 1370 than he took the step which he had objected to in his predecessor. He had already built forts in Shahrisabz and Qarshi, and now he transformed Samarqand into a fortified capital adding to it a citadel in which he placed his treasure.

The murder of Husayn was given a lawful character. The actual killing was done according to the right of *vendetta* recognised in Islam, by the amir Kaykhusrau whose brother had

fallen Husayn's victim ten years previously. Two years later, circumstances altered and the law of *vendetta* was invoked against Kaykhusrau who was accused of betraying Timur, and the execution was entrusted to men who had the right to avenge the blood of Husayn.

In the same way Timur and his adherents endeavoured to legalise their further actions. Like his predecessors, Timur set upon the throne puppet khans of the house of Chaghatay and cloaked his acts with their authority. These khans no longer enjoyed even the outward honours due to the supreme ruler, and a legend was invented in favour of Timur who had no hereditary right to the supreme power. His ancestors were said to have been independent amirs under Chingiz-khan's successors, on the strength of a treaty several times renewed and forgotten during the troublous times. By his marriage with the amir Husayn's widow, who was a daughter of Qazan khan, Timur became related with the khan's family and acquired the right to the appellation of *gūrkān* (son-in-law) [1] which gave him precedence over the other amirs. Timur exploited to his own ends the concept and traditions of the Mongol empire, and in particular of the Chaghatay khanate. The Chaghatays formed his main military force. In appearance this army resembled the Mongols rather than Muslims and the soldiers wore pigtails. Timur's relations with his adherents were determined by military customs and traditions. Among the Chaghatays his mainstay were the *Barlas*, just as his most stubborn enemies were the *Jalayirs*. In 1376, on Timur's orders the Jalayirs suffered a fate corresponding to the modern disbanding of a military unit: the *ulus* of the Jalayirs was declared abolished and its remnants distributed among the detachments of various amirs.

As compared with Mongol military traditions, the traditions of Islam and Islamic culture held second place in Timur's mind, though he cleverly exploited them to justify his actions and enhance the splendour of his throne. In Turkestan, Timur's supporters were mainly the upper Muslim classes, headed by the

[1] [Properly: *küräkän*. Entirely different from *gur-khan*. Cf. below, p. 68.]

shaykh al-Islams of Samarqand and the sayyids of Tirmidh. The disaffection of a sayyid who in 1371 went over to Timur's enemies was purely incidental and had no consequences either for Timur or for the other sayyids. To the same class belonged the emigrant from Mekka *Sayyid Baraka,* who received from Timur the town of Andkhoy in Afghanistan as a fief and later was buried by Timur's side. According to tradition, Timur adopted as his spiritual patrons several other ascetic shaykhs who were more closely linked with the popular masses; among them were his first teacher Shaykh Shams al-din Kulāl of Shahrisabz and Shaykh Zayn al-din Tāyābādī of Khorasan. However the former died in the first years of Timur's reign and the latter is mentioned in Timur's history only once in 1381, and consequently their influence on Timur's activities was small. Very remarkable is the complete silence of the sources on any intimacy which may have existed between Timur and the darvishes of Bukhara, although Bahā al-din Naqshband, founder of the Naqshbandi order [1] and one of the most influential shaykhs of Bukhara, was Timur's contemporary. Muslim saints whose cult was connected with the national traditions of the nomads must have been particularly important for Timur. The only considerable edifice built by him, outside his native Shahrisabz and his capital Samarqand, was a mausoleum in the town of Yasï (*alias* Turkestan) over the tomb of the twelfth-century shaykh Ahmad Yasavi, who had been active in enlightening the Turks.

In other countries, religious zeal was used by Timur only as a means for the attainment of political ends. In Syria, where he appeared as the avenger of the wrongs suffered by the Prophet's house, he was considered a fervent Shīᶜite; in Shīᶜite Mazandaran he became the avenger of the insults inflicted by the Shīᶜites on the memory of the Prophet's companions. Another pretext much used by Timur was the necessity of re-establishing peace and order [1] after the disturbances caused by the political disruption of Persia, the country which was the main object of his expansionist policy. In fact the real motive for his campaigns

[1] Pretexts widely spread even in our days!

was his imperialistic ambition. The following words, which seem to reflect his inner thoughts, are ascribed to him: "The whole expanse of the inhabited part of the world is not large enough to have two kings". This somewhat morbid mania explains his desire to amaze the world by the grandiose scale of his constructive and destructive enterprises, which were intended more to produce an impression than to achieve enduring results. Timur's expeditions covered an enormous expanse of territory, from Yelets in Russia to Delhi, from Smyrna to the Great Yulduz (to the north of Kucha). But, with the exception of the campaigns in Iran where Timur carved out fiefs for his sons and grandsons, his expeditions were nothing more than plundering raids. Timur brought all his booty to Samarqand, including writers and scholars who were intended to add to the lustre of the world-conqueror's capital. However, the idea that Timur's activities were destructive everywhere except in Samarqand is an exaggeration, for he carried out grandiose[?] works of irrigation in regions as far distant from Samarqand as Kabul and the Mughan steppe. But Samarqand, in Timur's plan, was to become the first city in the world. This idea was tangibly expressed by the building around Samarqand of a series of villages bearing the names of the chief towns of Islam: Baghdad, Damascus, Misr (Cairo), Shiraz and Sultaniya.

Timur devoted his entire youth to military training and possessed no education. Yet, though illiterate, he was no stranger to the intellectual life of his court. Besides Turkish he spoke Persian and from his conversations with scholars he acquired some notions of the sciences, and was able to astonish the historian Ibn Khaldun by his knowledge of history. He played chess with the best chess-players of the time, and his architects were guided in their work by his artistic concepts. Some of his buildings were connected with particular expeditions. Thus the Aq-Sarāy palace in Shahrisabz was built in 1380 by captive artisans brought from Khwarazm in 1379; the cathedral mosque in Samarqand, now known as Bibi-khanīm, was begun in 1399 after Timur's return from India. This latter edifice may be regarded as a typical example of Timur's building activities:

magnificent as it was from the artistic point of view, it was so negligently built that even in Timur's time stones began to fall out of the ceiling, making it unsafe for the worshippers.

Of all the cultural regions, *Khwarazm* suffered most from Timur's expeditions, for it rose several times against him. In 1388 the capital Urganch was levelled to the ground, with the exception of the mosques, minarets etc., and all its inhabitants were transferred to Samarqand. In 1391 Timur allowed the town to be restored but only to the extent of one of its quarters. Against the northern and western neighbours of Mawarannahr Timur made several expeditions, but only to punish the nomads for their previous depredations or to discourage future raids. A lasting pacification of the steppe could only have been achieved by a colonising movement in that direction, but of such an intention there were no signs under Timur. It was only in the last years of his reign, when planning the conquest of China, that he carried forward a line of advanced posts. A fort was built on the Ashpara (now the frontier river between the Sïr-Darya province and the Semirechye) and measures were taken to restore agriculture in that region; another fort was built on the Issik-kul. The results of these activities were particularly short-lived. In 1404 important forces were assembled on the Sïr-Darya, from Shahrukhiya [1] to Sauran, in preparation for the Chinese campaign. But at its very outset, on 18 February 1405, Timur died in Otrar. In the same year, the forts on the Issik-kul and on the Ashpara were abandoned, and a treaty was concluded with the Moghols who got back the territories previously wrested from them. A few years after the disturbances caused by Timur's death had been quelled, and the supreme power in the empire had been assumed by his son Shahrukh, with Ulugh-beg as his representative in Samarqand, the Ashpara was recognised as the north-eastern boundary of the Chaghatay state. In 1425 Ulugh-beg, following in his grandfather's footsteps, led an expedition into the interior of Mogholistan. He visited Timur's fort on the shore of the Issik-kul and brought back from the upper

[1] Named after Timur's son; now the ruins Sharakiya, near the confluence of the Sïr-Darya and the Angren.

Ili valley two large blocks of jade which he laid on Timur's tomb. Another reminder of Ulugh-beg's expedition is the inscription in the Jilan-utï gorge between Samarqand and Jizak. Ulugh-beg's expedition produced no lasting results; it did not achieve the pacification of the steppe, or restore the earlier sedentary and urban life.

## THE TIMURIDS

During *Ulugh-beg's* reign (1409-1449; till 1447 in the name of Shahrukh) Samarqand retained all its splendour as a capital, though Shāhrukh, the head of the dynasty, lived in Herat[1]. Ulugh-beg attracted scholars and artists to his court, erected gorgeous buildings, including the Registan madrasa, built an observatory in the northern suburbs of the town and himself made astronomical observations and wrote astronomical works. Contemporaries compared him, as a scholar on the throne, with Aristotle's pupil Alexander the Great. Unlike Herat, where Muslim piety prevailed under Shahrukh, who utterly repudiated Chingiz-khan's laws and wished to be only a Muslim Sultan and Caliph, Samarqand continued to live a gay and cultured life under Ulugh-beg. The shaykh al-Islams took part in this life, but not the popular masses, or their spiritual leaders, the darvishes. The latter liked Ulugh-beg even less than his grandfather, while they also feared him less. In Ulugh-beg's lifetime a political leader arose from the ranks of the darvishes. This was *Khoja Aḥrār*[2] of the Naqshbandi order, whose name is linked with the victory of religious reaction over the highly civilised social life and urban culture of Turkestan.

The misfortunes which befell Ulugh-beg during the second half of his reign, his unskilful handling of the troubles after Shahrukh's death and the frivolous ways of his youngest son *ʿAbd al-ʿAziz* robbed him of all popularity. The power passed into the hands of his other son, *Abd al-Laṭīf,* who did not shrink from parricide and fratricide. The religious reaction, which began

[1] [On Ulugh-beg see Barthold's special monograph, see above, p. XIII.]

[2] [The Central-Asian form of this title has been preserved in the translation; in Persian *Khwāja.*]

under Abd al-Latif, was interrupted for a short time in 1450 when Abd al-Latif fell victim to a military conspiracy, and Ulugh-beg's nephew, *Abdullah,* ascended the throne and revived his uncle's traditions. Already in 1451 Abdullah had been killed in a battle with *Abu Saʿīd,* another descendant of Timur and Khoja Ahrar's candidate. Abu Saʿīd owed his success to the help of the nomad Uzbeks, who, under their khan *Abul-Khayr,* had by that time firmly established themselves on the lower course of the Sïr-Darya. As on several other occasions in the Muslim world [1], religious reaction once again found its allies against secular culture among the barbarians.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, in contrast with the times of Shahrukh and Ulugh-beg, poets and artists found more favourable conditions for themselves in Herat than in Samarqand or Bukhara. Under *Sultan-Husayn* (1469-1506), whose possessions included the Transcaspian province [2] and Khwarazm, Herat became a brilliant centre of intellectual activity. Despite the absence of Turkish elements in the local population, it was here also that Central Asian poetry in Turkī reached the zenith of its development. Its principal representative *Mir Ali Shir* was Sultan-Husayn's vazir [3]. In his writings Mir Ali Shir maintained that it was possible to create a literature in Turkī not inferior to that which existed in the "Sart" language. The word *sart* is of Indian origin, and was originally used by the Turks in the sense of "merchant". At first in the forms *sartaqtay* and *sartaul* it was applied under the Mongols to representatives of Muslim culture in general, and particularly to Iranians, as a synonym of the name *tājīk* by which the Iranians were known. Under the Uzbeks, apace with the gradual Turkicisation of the Turkestan Iranians, the name *Sart* was applied to the Turkish speaking sedentary population of Turkestan, whereas the term *tājīk* was reserved for those who still retained their Iranian language. Parallel to the name "Tajik",—which was at first

[1] As, for instance, in Spain.

[2] [Now the republic of Turkmenistan. V.M.]

[3] [In more detail see Barthold's monograph on Mir Ali Shir, see above, p. XIV.]

applied only to the Arabs, then both to the Arabs and Persians, and finally only to the Persians,—the name "Sart" was given at first only to the Persians, then to the Persians and Turks, and finally only to the Turks.

## THE UZBEKS

Sultan-Husayn and his collaborators seem to have succeeded in carrying on their activities without provoking the opposition of the religious circles. But after the sultan's death, the usual disturbances broke out and cultural progress was interrupted by foreign conquest. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Uzbek khan *Shïbani,* grand son of Abul-Khayr, conquered all the Timurid possessions in Turkestan and Khorasan, including Sultan-Husayn's former kingdom. In 1510 Shïbani was killed in the battle of Marv which he fought with *Shah Ismāᶜïl,* the founder of the new Persian kingdom. Once again Bukhara and Samarqand passed, for a short time, into the power of a descendant of Timur, *Sultan Babur* [1]. In 1512 Shïbani's nephew *ᶜUbaydullāh* defeated Babur and restored and consolidated the supremacy of the Uzbeks in Turkestan. At about the same time the Persians were driven out of Khwarazm by other Uzbek khans who founded their own dynasty. Sultan Babur withdrew to India and founded there one of the most brilliant Muslim kingdoms, which by tradition was also called "Chaghatay", although there were none of Chaghatay's descendants in it.

ᶜUbaydullāh (d. 1539) was regarded as the ideal ruler in the spirit of Muslim piety. Under him and his successors, political pre-eminence gradually passed from Samarqand, the former capital of Timur and his successors, to Bukhara. Closely connected with this town were the activities of ᶜUbaydullāh himself, of *ᶜAbdullāh khan* (1559-1598) and of the seventeenth century khans of the Ashtarkhanid or Janid dynasty. ᶜAbdullāh, who was the outstanding representative of the Shïbanids, conquered Khorasan and Khwarazm. He led an expedition into the interior of the steppes and, like Ulugh-beg, left a record of this expedition

[1] Whose *Memoirs* are one of the finest examples of Turkish prose.

in an inscription in the Jilan-utï gorge. In popular memory, ᶜAbdullāh, like Timur, lives on principally as a builder. In addition to what they actually built, many other constructions are ascribed to them, such as the arches of the bridge over the Zarafshān near Samarqand, which in fact was built under Shïbani.

The Uzbek conquest did not completely arrest cultural progress. Life in the Uzbek khanate of *Khwarazm,* which had attained such high cultural standards in the fourteenth century, was now quite barbaric. When the khan *Abul-Ghāzī* (1643-1663), who had spent ten years in Persia and was in consequence better educated than his countrymen, wished to have a history of his dynasty composed, he could find no one to whom he could entrust this work and so was obliged to do it himself. On the other hand, it was under the Uzbeks that for the first time a rich historical literature was created in the basin of the Zarafshan, whereas the historians of Timur and his descendants nearly all belonged to Persia, either by birth or residence. Some of the buildings erected in those days, as for example the Shïrdār madrasa in Samarqand, built in 1619, are hardly inferior to those built by Timur or Ulugh-beg. The northern part of Afghanistan with Balkh also formed part of the Uzbek khanate. Thanks to its geographical proximity to the splendid kingdom of the Indian Great Moghuls (Babur's descendants), which lay on the other side of the Hindukush, Balkh became the centre of a cultured social life. In the sixteen-forties *Nādir Muhammad khan,* who had been invited from Balkh to Bukhara, aroused the resentment of his subjects by introducing the customs of Balkh into that stern and pious centre.

## THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

For the whole of Muslim Asia the eighteenth century was a period of political, economical and cultural decadence. The principal cause of this phenomenon, which so far has not been fully accounted for, seems to have been the development of maritime routes controlled by Western Europeans, which began in the fifteenth century and brought about the decline of the

caravan trade. In Turkestan the political disturbances in the Uzbek khanates had been exploited as early as the sixteenth century by their neighbours of the steppes, viz. the *Turcomans* in the West and the *Qazakhs* in the East. The Qazaqs were Uzbeks who in the fifteenth century had detached themselves from the bulk of their nation and consequently had not taken part in the conquest of the Timurid kingdom [1]. The troubles of the eighteenth century particularly affected Samarqand and Khiva. To this latter town the capital of Khwarazm had been transferred from Urganch in the seventeenth century, after the Amu-Darya had changed its course and turned again towards the Aral Sea. This had happened before the New Urganch was founded at no great distance from Khiva and inherited the commercial importance of its old namesake. For a time Samarqand and Khiva became greatly depopulated. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, when new dynasties were founded,—*Mangït* in Bukhara and *Qungrat* in Khiva,—a fairly stable order was re-established. Somewhat earlier, the *Ming* dynasty [2] set itself up in Farghana, and in the nineteenth century the *begs* of Farghana assumed the title of *khan*. To the two Uzbek khanates of Bukhara and Khiva a third was thus added—the khanate of Kokand, which took its name from the new town founded by the new dynasty.

### THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the nineteenth century, when Europe had definitely assumed cultural leadership, Turkestan stood lowest of all Muslim lands on the cultural scale, being as it was the part of Muslim Asia farthest removed from Europe. Before the coming of the Russians, Turkestan had no printing establishments, either in lithograph or in type, whereas Turkey and Persia had long possessed them. Turkey and Persia had shown signs of European influence in their political and social life already in the eighteenth century, while Turkestan still remained entirely medieval. Only

[1] In later times the Qazaqs were mistakenly given the name of Qirghiz.

[2] [From *circa* 1700 to 1876. Not to be confused with the *Chinese* Ming (1368-1644)!].

the minting of gold coin, resumed for the first time since the Mongol invasion, testified to certain economic ties with Europe through the intermediary of Persia.

And yet it would be a mistake to suppose that the Russian conquerors found in Turkestan nothing but barbarity and no cultural activity which they might foster. At the time of the conquest the economic welfare of the greater part of Turkestan was much higher than it had been a century earlier. Khiva and Samarqand were once more considerable cities. In the nineteenth, as compared with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the khanates of Khiva and Kokand could boast of a more animated activity in the fields of culture, literature (especially historiography) and architecture than Bukhara. For the first time *Farghana* had become the centre of a large state, which embraced nearly the entire basin of the Sïr-Darya. The khans of Kokand *(Khōkand)* succeeded in bringing under their sway part of the nomad population in the eastern part of the Sïr-Darya province and in the western part of the Semirechye. After an interval of several centuries, the colonising movement towards the steppe was revived and agriculture was resumed under the protection of the Kokand fortifications. In Farghana itself the Russians found the towns Kokand, Andijan and Namanghān [1], entirely created by the exertions of the khans of Kokand. The khans had also developed vast irrigation plans utilising the waters of the Qara-Darya and the Narïn, such as Farghana had never had even at the zenith of Turkestan's cultural past. For the first time Farghana had achieved economic supremacy in Turkestan which it has retained under the Russians. Another inheritance from the period of the Uzbek khanates is the rise of Tashkent, which is now the principal town in Turkestan [2], whereas under ᶜAbdullāh khan it was of only secondary cultural importance and occupied a much smaller area than it does now.

The future of Turkestan as of any other country, depends on its eventual participation in world trade. The commercial im-

[1] Namanghān was a new town which in the seventeenth century was only a village.

[2] [At present, the capital of the Uzbek republic.]

portance of Turkestan, as a capitalistic country [1], depends entirely on the development of railways which have restored the bulk of trade carried overland, side by side with sea-trade. Turkestan will probably never play its former role in the transit trade with the Far East, and it is highly improbable that at any time a railway will be built across Turkestan to China alongside the Trans-Siberian Railway [2]. However, the question of a future Europe-India railway is still debatable, and one cannot yet say what part will be allotted to Turkestan in such a scheme. Therefore Russian Turkestan has not only a past, but also a future, whereas Eastern, or Chinese, Turkestan whose geographical features debar it from any development of railway traffic, is exclusively a country of the past [3].

[1] [Written in 1920.]

[2] [In addition to the "Turksib" which has linked Turkestan with Siberia, a railway is being built linking China (Lan-chou) with Alma-Ata in the Kazakh S.S.R. 1955].

[3] The principal literature on the archaeology and history of Turkestan is quoted in Prince V. I. Masalsky's *Turkestansky kray,* 1913 (published as vol. XIX of *Rossiya, Polnoye opisaniye nashego otechestva*), pp. 794 and ff.; *ibid.,* pp. 273 and ff., a short sketch of the history of Turkestan. See the review of this book in *ZVO,* 1913, XXII, 198-206. More recent works are: V. Barthold *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana* 1914; V. Barthold, *Ulugh-beg i yego vremia* 1918.

*Additional note to p. 58.*

It has been shown by Prof. A. Z. Togan that Chinghiz and Timur had a claim to one common ancestor, Buzanchar.

# APPENDIX

## THESES ADVANCED BY V. V. BARTHOLD

### IN HIS DISSERTATION ON TURKESTAN PRESENTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. PETERSBURG IN 1900 [1]

1. During the period immediately preceding the Arab conquest, the power in Mawarannahr belonged to the landowners' class—the *dihqāns*—who lived in fortified castles and in war-time formed a cavalry of knights. Alongside the hereditary aristocracy there existed a moneyed aristocracy whose mode of life was not much different from that of the *dihqāns*. The term *dihqān* was also used with reference to local rulers who were only the first amongst the noblemen.

2. The Omayyads [A.D. 661-750] and their governors did not pursue any extensive administrative aims and limited themselves to maintaining their power over the Arabs, and to collecting taxes from the conquered population and tribute from their vassals. The governors followed one another in rapid succession but they took advantage of their short tenure of office, among other things, to acquire large estates which usually remained in the possession of their descendants.

3. In contrast to the Omayyads, the Abbasids [after 750] wished to create a state in which the provinces with a Persian population would be included on the same footing as the Arabs. They took for their model the state organisation of the Sasanian monarchy. The Caliphs gradually came to entrust the administration of the Eastern provinces to members of the local aristocracy, from whose ranks rose the dynasties of the Tahirids and the Samanids.

[1] This abstract of the dissertation was distributed among those present at the public debate at the University. It also figures in some copies of the Russian original of *Turkestan* (1900), but not in the English translation of it (1928).

4. The epoch of the Tāhirids [821-873] and the Sāmānids [874-999] might well be called the epoch of "enlightened absolutism". The monarchs did not carry out any drastic social reforms, but strove to institute a firm rule and peace within their possessions, to protect the lower classes from oppression, and to encourage the development of industry, trade and education.

5. The more extreme democratic aspirations, hostile to the established order, were embodied in the Shīʿite and Khārijite sects and the class of the "warriors for the faith". The dynasty of the Ṣaffārids [867-903] rose to power by unifying these various democratic elements.

6. The administrative tendencies of the Samanids were resisted by the *dihqāns* and the Turkish guard. In the struggle between the military aristocracy and the throne the clergy sided with the former. The opposition of these classes facilitated the conquest of the country by the Turks.

7. The concept of the state was brought to its extreme expression under the Ghaznavids, and especially under Mahmūd [998-1030]. The population was divided into the *army* (mainly multi-national) which received a salary from the monarch, who in return demanded its faithful service, and the *subjects,* whom the monarch defended against foreign foes, while in return they had to pay the taxes without demur. The people were denied all right to any national and patriotic aspirations, even to resistance to foreign enemies.

8. Under the Seljuks [1038-1157] and the Qarakhānids [932-1165], there are symptoms indicating that the principle of unity of power was being weakened by the principle of clan ownership prevailing amongst the nomads. The first Turkish khans were essentially different from the Persian absolute rulers (*despots*). The most conspicuous changes were the abolition of the system of supervision of local rulers and the diminished importance of the office of court-executioner. Despite the good intentions

of individual monarchs, the domination of the nomads was fatal to the provinces subjected to them, because of the system of appanages (*udyels*) which they had introduced, and because of the system of military fiefs, which expanded enormously. The devaluation of landed property utterly ruined the landowners, and at the time of the Mongol invasion the *dihqāns* are no longer mentioned as a separate class.

9. The gradual transformation of the Turkish khans into Persian absolute rulers aroused the hostility of their clansmen, and this in turn rendered more acute the struggle between the throne and the military class. The clergy continued to side with the latter. In the Qarakhānid state the struggle between the secular power and the clergy resulted in the execution of several influential shaykhs, and cost the life of a khan, on a verdict pronounced by the clergy.

10. The rise of the Ghūrids [1148-1215] and the Khwārazm-shāhs [1077-1231] was favoured by the nature of their basic dominions, which from the geographical and ethnical points of view, formed autonomous units. The Khwarazm-shahs were superior to their rivals in consistency and political skill, and they gradually rose to a paramount position in the eastern part of the Muslim world.

11. By his misrule the Khwārazm-shāh Muhammad [1200-1220] aroused the hostility of the military class and the clergy, as well as of the popular masses. By abolishing the office of imperial vazir he also undermined the importance of the bureaucracy. In his struggle against foreign foes, he could rely neither on any elements of the administrative system, nor on any class of the population.

12. The kernel of Chingiz-khan's army was constituted by the guards recruited by him from amongst the steppe aristocracy and endowed with a regular organisation. The frame-work of both the military forces and the civil administration of the empire was a personal achievement of Chingiz-khan [d. 1227]. The cultural counsellors, especially the representatives of Uyghur culture, were no more than his tools.

13. There are no grounds for doubting the sincerity of Chingiz-khan's desire to enter into trade relations with the Khwārazm-shāh's kingdom. Such a desire is fully accounted for by the interests both of the nomads and of the Muslim merchants living at the Mongol court. There was no such harmony between the Khwarazm-shah's ambition to conquer Eastern Asia, and the commercial interests of his subjects.

14. The report of an embassy from the Caliph Nāṣir's to Mongolia is not worthy of credit. In general, there are no grounds for assuming that the clash between the Mongols and the Muslims had been hastened by any influence from outside.

15. The ease with which the kingdom of the Khwarazm-shahs was conquered by the Mongols [1221] can be attributed both to the internal state of affairs in Khwārazm and to the superior organisation of the Mongol military forces. The strictly disciplined Mongol warriors did not seek opportunities to distinguish themselves before their comrades but faithfully carried out the will of their monarch, or of the chiefs appointed by him. The commanders were only obedient and able executors of the will of Chingiz-khan; as the occasion demanded, the latter divided or combined anew the different corps of his army, and swiftly took measures to cope with occasional failures. On the other hand, the Muslim leaders,—and in the particular the Khwārazm-shāh Jalāl al-dīn,—were capable of miracles of valour achieved with a bare handful of men, but were utterly incapable of organising more important forces, or of holding in check the national passions within their multi-national army.

# II. HISTORY OF THE SEMIRECHYÉ

I have accepted with the greatest pleasure the invitation to write for the *Year Book* [1] a short sketch of the history of the Semirechyé and a chronological resumé of the more important events. The very fact that interest in the history of the Semirechyé has been aroused is immensely gratifying to a historian of Central Asia, who realises that no complete and comprehensive study of this subject can be achieved without the active co-operation of the people on the spot. Our written sources are often fragmentary and incomplete, and have to be supplemented by archaeological data. The collecting of such material by persons who, during their short visits to a country, are unable to establish reliable contacts with the local population, is fraught with almost insuperable difficulties. Only permanent residents can carry out local research on a sufficiently large scale, and enrich our knowledge with truly valuable finds. To this class belongs the discovery of Nestorian cemeteries in the Semirechyé near Pishpek and Toqmaq, but so far the exploration has proceeded in a more or less haphazard way. A considerable amount of archaeological material disappears before it has been studied. The inhabitants of Toqmaq used to find quantities of coins in the beds of ancient canals (*arïq*) near Burana, but I have been unable to trace any collection of such coins. Like any other undertaking, the study of local antiquities can be successfully pursued only when properly organised. I, therefore, allow myself to express the hope that, in due course, a society will be created in the Semirechyé, with definite aims and powers, similar to the society now operating in Turkestan, to which we owe such precious finds

[1] "Year Book of the Statistical Committee of the Semirechyé province for the year 1898", pp. 1-102 (74-175). [The Semirechyé, "the province of the Seven Rivers" is the Russian translation of the Turki term *Jiti-su*. It comprises the basins of the lakes Issik-kul and Balkhash, and lies between Turkestan and Siberia.]

as the Old-Turkish and Uyghur inscriptions [1] in the Talas valley.

Collecting archaeological material is not the only means by which local forces can advance the study of the history of their area. A personal acquaintance with the country is indispensable for identifying the ancient geographical names with the modern, as well as for a thorough understanding of the links connecting local history with the geographical background. There is no need to insist upon the importance for the historian of ethnographic data, and in this respect local students have particularly favourable opportunities.

We hope that the present sketch may be of some use to future workers in these fields. By utilising the accessible printed and manuscript sources, we have endeavoured to group together all the available facts bearing upon the history of the Semirechyé. In particular we have examined every item of information on the conditions of life which prevailed in the country at different periods of its existence. The time is not yet ripe for writing such a history of the Semirechyé as would be up to the standards of modern historiography. We have been able only to outline a number of questions on the solution of which will depend the understanding of the country's historical development, and for the moment we have refrained from suggesting any answers to them. Our outline is meant only to provide material for a future historian and to serve as a starting-point for further research. It is not for us to judge to what extent we have served that purpose.

## THE WU-SUN [2]

The earliest historical information on the Semirechyé comes from Chinese sources. The ancient Greek and Roman authors give only a few names of the peoples living beyond the Sīr-Darya

[1] We draw the particular attention of our readers to this discovery, as the historical facts which will be quoted below give us every hope that similar inscriptions will be found also in the Semirechyé.

[2] According to Chinese sources collected in Father Iakinf (Hyacinth) Bichurin's book *Collection of data on the peoples who inhabited Central Asia in ancient times* (in Russian), in three parts, SPb. 1851. [Cf. now J. Charpentier in *ZDMG*, 71, 1917, pp. 347-88].

without defining their territories. Even to the Chinese the Semirechyé became known only at the end of the second century B.C., when the Chinese government, looking for allies against the powerful Huns, sent an embassy to the Western lands. Among the peoples conquered by the Huns were the Wu-sun, who originally led a nomad life between the Nan-Shan range and the river Bulungir. It was here that their king perished in a battle against the Huns. The Hun king took his newborn son and brought him up. Later, when he had distinguished himself as a warrior, he was put in charge of his father's people. The Wu-sun took part in the pursuit of the Yüeh-chih, their former neighbours, a people in all probability of Tibetan origin [1], also defeated by the Huns. In their westward movement the Yüeh-chih dislodged the Sê from the Semirechyé. The Sê are generally identified with the Saka, who are often mentioned in Greek and Persian reports on Central Asia. This identification is, however, founded exclusively on similarity of sound. The Yüeh-chih were in their turn expelled by the Wu-sun who dominated the Semirechyé at the time of the Chinese embassies, though remnants of both the Sê and the Yüeh-chih remained in the country [2]. In the Semirechyé the Wu-sun king Lieh-chiao-mi, who bore the title of *kᶜun-mo*, soon became powerful enough to break off his allegiance to the Huns. In the East his possessions bordered on those of the Huns but the Chinese give no exact description of the boundaries of these two peoples. To the South of the Wu-sun dominions lay Eastern Turkestan with its long-established sedentary population. To the south-west, lay Farghāna and to the west the possessions of the nomad people Kᶜang-chü [3].

[1] [Very doubtful. See Barthold's later views in the *Short History of Turkestan*, above p. 5].

[2] The people Sê formed three states to which the Chinese give the names of Chi-pin (Kashmir), Hsiu-hsün and Kuan-tu. [Later note]. These three dominions were located not between the Semirechyé and Eastern Turkestan, but in the Hindukush mountains and in the Kabul valley. Greek authors call these dominions Indoscythian, so that the identity of the Sê with the Scythians, or Saka, can be regarded as doubtless.

[3] Perhaps the Turkish people Qanglï. [Very doubtful in this form. V.M.]

As the Wu-sun lived to the north-east and the K'ang-chü to the north-west of Farghana [1], the frontier dividing their territories coincided approximately with the present-day boundary between the Semirechyé and the Sïr-Darya province. As far as the origins of the Wu-sun are concerned, only proper names and titles in their language have come down to us, and only in Chinese transcription. No philologist has studied them yet and we can only draw attention to the frequent recurrence in them of the ending *-mi*. What we know about their outward appearance comes from a later (seventh century A.D.) Chinese writer Yen Shih-ku [2]: "the Wu-sun differ greatly in their appearance from other foreigners of the Western lands. To-day the Turks [3] with blue eyes and red beards, resembling apes, are their descendants" [4]. This is not enough to allow one to judge whether the Wu-sun were Aryans, as earlier Orientalists beginning with Abel Rémusat and Klaproth were inclined to think, or Turks, which is the opinion of V. V. Radloff [5] and of N. A. Aristov [6], author of the latest work on the Turks.

The grazing grounds of the Wu-sun extended mainly over the plains of the Semirechyé, for the Chinese describe their land as level and grassy. The cold and rainy climate of the country is also recorded. The mountains were covered with fir and pine forests. The population was estimated at 120,000 families, or 630,000 individuals. The Wu-sun could raise an army of 188,800 men. Ch'ih-ku, the capital, or rather the main camp of the Wu-sun, seems to have been situated on the south-eastern shore of the Issik-kul, for the Chinese locate it 610 li to the north-west of

[1] Iakinf, *o.c.*, III, 5-6.

[2] *Ibid.*, III, 65.

[3] Iakinf constantly translates by "Turk" the Chinese term *huy* which means "barbarian".

[4] The French translator gives a slightly different version: "ils avaient les yeux bleus (ou verdâtres), la barbe rousse, et ressemblaient à des singes, dont ils tiraient leur origine" (Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Les Huns Blancs ou Ephtalites*, Paris 1849, p. 32).

[5] *On the question of the Uyghurs* (in Russian), SPb. 1893, p. 126.

[6] *Remarks on the ethnical composition of the Turkish tribes* (in Russian), SPb. 1897, p. 17.

the Aqsu, 2,000 li to the north-east of the capital of Farghana and 5,000 li from the Chinese frontier [1]. The town of Ch'ih-ku is also mentioned in the seventh century Chinese itineraries and located 50 li from the Bedel pass, but this itinerary is on the whole unreliable, and needs checking afresh by a Sinologist [2]. We do not know what makes Aristov suppose that Ch'ih-ku was situated on the banks of the Qïzïl-su, but we agree with him that it would be pointless to look for traces of building by such a nomadic people as the Wu-sun [3]. Nor are there any grounds for ascribing to them, as it is sometimes done even now [4], all the existing monuments on the shores and at the bottom of the Issik-kul. We shall see that there were towns and forts on the Issik-kul at a time when the very name of the Wu-sun had long been forgotten.

Towards the year 105 B.C. the Chinese ambassador Chang-Ch'ien came to the Wu-sun with the suggestion that they should return to the East and resume their struggle against the Huns, in alliance with the Chinese. The ambassador was coldly received at the k'un-mo's camp and his plan found no response. Only when the Wu-sun envoy, who accompanied Chang-Ch'ien to China, described to his monarch the splendour and might of the Chinese empire, did the prestige of that country recover somewhat. However, as the Chinese ambassadors who came after Chang-Ch'ien travelled to the west across Eastern Turkestan and Farghana, the Wu-sun no longer received the rich presents which the embassies carried with them. In consequence, the k'un-mo sent another embassy to China demanding a Chinese princess in marriage and sending 1000 horses as a betrothal present. His

[1] The latter figure is probably exaggerated for at another place (Iakinf, III, 6) the capital of the Kang-chü is located 2,000 li to the north-west of the capital of Farghana. The li is about 2/7 of a mile. The distance of 610 li from Aqsu does not confirm Iakinf's opinion, III, 100, that Ch'ih-ku lay to the north-east of the lake.

[2] *ZVO*, VIII, 31. [See Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, SPb., 1903, p. 9].

[3] *Remarks*, p. 26.

[4] See Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Turkestan Society of Archeology, 28 August 1897, p. 12.

wish was granted but the princess became only his lesser wife, whereas the daughter of the *shan-yü* of the Huns, whom the elderly k$^{c}$un-mo married at the same time, was proclaimed his principal wife. The princess accustomed to a very different way of life, was unhappy on the steppes and poured out her melancholy in verses where she complained of being wedded to "the Wu-sun king who lives in a round felt hut, eats meat and drinks milk" [1].

During the Chinese expedition against Farghana (102 B.C.) the Wu-sun, at the request of the Chinese government, sent an auxiliary force of 2,000 men, though it remained merely in reserve for battle and took no part in the military operations [2].

Before he died the k$^{c}$un-mo desired the princess to marry, according to the custom prevailing on the steppes, his grandson and successor Chün-hsü-mi, who bore the title of *ch$^{c}$ên-tsou*. The princess objected but the Chinese government persuaded her to submit to the native custom [3]. The *ch$^{c}$ên-tsou* left only a young son Nimi (by the Hun princess). Until Nimi's coming of age the throne was temporarily occupied by the *ch$^{c}$ên-tsou*'s cousin Wêng-kuei-mi, who married a Chinese princess, widow of his predecessor (this was another princess, married to the *ch$^{c}$en-tsou* for Lieh-chiao-mi's widow had died earlier). Wêng-kuei-mi seems to have been a gifted ruler who succeeded in raising the internal prosperity and the external power of his people. In 71 B.C. Wêng-kuei-mi, in agreement with the Chinese, undertook a successful expedition against the Huns, taking 4,000 prisoners and seizing 70,000 head of cattle. He also intervened in the affairs of Eastern Turkestan. His second son was made ruler of Yarkand, and his eldest daughter was married to the ruler of Kucha. Wêng-kuei-mi died at the end of the sixth decade B.C. He was succeeded by Nimi, called *K$^{c}$uang-wang* "the Mad King".

The *K$^{c}$uang-wang* married his predecessor's widow and had a son by her in spite of her advanced age (she was over fifty); he did not live on good terms with his wife and was unpopular with

[1] Iakinf, III, 67.
[2] *Ibid.*, III, 30.
[3] *Ibid.*, III, 68.

his people. When a Chinese embassy came to Ch$^{c}$ih-ku the queen persuaded the ambassadors to give a feast at which the *K$^{c}$uang-wang* was to be killed, but the plan mis-fired. The *K$^{c}$uang-wang* was only wounded and escaped on horseback. The king's son Hsi-shên-sou with his army besieged Ch$^{c}$ih-ku which seems to have been held by the queen and the Chinese. The Chinese government hastened to make amends for the ambassadors' guilt: they were brought back to China and executed. Presents were sent to the king as well as a physician to treat his wound. The queen, when questioned, denied her guilt. Wu-chiu-t$^{c}$u, Wêng-kuei-mi's son by the Hun princess, took advantage of the popular discontent with the *K$^{c}$uan-wang*. He withdrew to the "Northern mountains" (the Ala-tau) and declared that he was expecting assistance from the Huns. When the people rallied to him, he made a surprise attack on the *K$^{c}$uang-wang,* killed him and seized the throne. The Chinese who were not ready to tolerate the triumph of the Hun faction, made military preparations against the Semirechyé. Reconciliation was achieved, thanks to a Chinese lady married to a Wu-sun noble. Wu-chiu-t$^{c}$u took the title of Lesser k$^{c}$un-mo. Yüan-kuei-mi, son of Wêng-kuei-mi, was declared Chief k$^{c}$un-mo. Sixty thousand families fell to the lot of the latter, and forty thousand to the lot of the former. As an ally of the Chinese Wu-chiu-t$^{c}$u even made war on the Huns, but without success. He had better luck in his operations against the Chinese themselves [1].

This division of power was bound to provoke troubles and feuds. For a time order was restored by the energetic action of the chief k$^{c}$un-mo, Tz$^{c}$ŭ-li-mi, Yüan-kuei-mi's grandson. His rule gave back to the country "the tranquillity and peace" of Wêng-kuei-mi's days. Among other regulations he "published an order that none should dare graze his cattle on his (Tz$^{c}$ŭ-li-mi's) pastures" [2]. This edict suggests that there were in the Wu-sun country reserved grazing-grounds, or *qoruq* [3], as they were later

[1] Iakinf, I, 76-77.

[2] *Ibid.,* III, 75.

[3] Muhammad Narshakhi, *History of Bukhara,* Russian transl. by N. Likoshin, Tashkent 1897, p. 40.

called by the Turks and Mongols. Tzᶜŭ-li-mi perished at the hands of assassins sent by the Lesser kᶜun-mo. The Chinese then set upon the throne his grandson I-chih-mi, son of a Chinese princess. In the struggles between the Lesser and the Chief kᶜun-mo, the Chinese generally sided with the former. When the Lesser kᶜun-mo An-li-mi was deposed and killed by the Huns, with the consent of the Chinese government, and his place taken by a Chinese protégé (11 B.C.), his uncle Pei-yüan-chi with 80,000 men withdrew to the Chinese in the North, from whence he attacked both the kᶜun-mo. This led to a tightening up of the relations between the two kᶜun-mo and the Chinese. In the year 1 B.C. I-chih-mi visited the Chinese capital where he was received with great pomp. The shan-yü of the Huns was also in the capital at that time. Finally Pei-yüan-chi was killed by the Chinese governor "in an unexpected assault" (probably also by the hand of paid assassins).

About the year A.D. 8, Eastern Turkestan again passed under the Huns. Relations between China and the "Western lands" ceased and were not renewed until A.D. 73. In A.D. 97 a Chinese body of troops sent by the general Pan-chᶜao penetrated as far as the Caspian sea but these events do not seem to have affected the Semirechyé, for nothing is heard about it during this period. The only mention is that in the second century the Wu-sun "completely detached themselves" [1] from China. We also know nothing about the movement of the Huns across the Semirechyé, during their migration from Mongolia to the West which towards the end of the century grew to such formidable proportions. Troublous times came to China in the middle of the second century and relations with the Western lands were not resumed until the fifth century.

In Mongolia the place of the Huns was taken by the HSIEN-PI, a people most probably of Tunguz origin [2]. The Hsien-pi ruler Tᶜan-shih-huai (d. 181 A.D.) conquered all the lands to the West up to the Wu-sun possessions [3]. In the fourth century the ruler

[1] Iakinf, III, 108.
[2] [Mongols, according to Pelliot.]
[3] Iakinf, I, 169.

Yü-lü, a member of another Hsien-pi dynasty, conquered among others the "ancient Wu-sun lands" [1]. From the end of the fourth century to the middle of the sixth the paramount power in Central Asia belonged to the JOU-JAN who are usually regarded as a Tunguz people. The raids of the Jou-jan at length forced the Wu-sun to abandon the plains of the Semirechyé for the mountains of Tien-shan [2]. In 425 certain western rulers, including the ruler of the Wu-sun, sent ambassadors to Northern China, where the Hsien-pi dynasty Yüan-wei, or Pei-wei, held sway. Thus relations were re-established between China and the Western peoples. In 436 a Chinese embassy visited the Wu-sun, and the Wu-sun sent yearly embassies to China with presents.

After this, the name of the Wu-sun as an independent people disappears from history. As is well-known, their name has survived only in the name of the great Qirghiz-Qaysaq [3] horde (the *Uysun*).

### THE TURKS [4]

In the sixth century A.D. a new nomad empire came into existence in Central Asia. The Turks, who came from the Altai, conquered, within a short time, all the peoples from the Pacific to the Black Sea. The founder of the empire, I-li kᶜo-han Tᶜu-mên, died in 553. After the death of Tᶜo-po khan (in 581) the empire broke up into two kingdoms—the Eastern and the Western. The Semirechyé, formerly the land of the Wu-sun,

[1] *Ibid.*, I, 193.

[2] *Ibid.*, III, 162.

[3] [Now called *Qazakh*. The identification is far from certain.]

[4] Information on the Turks, besides the Chinese historical data collected by Father Iakinf (see chapter I), is to be found in the relation of the journey of Hsüan-tsang (*Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales,* traduits par M. Stanislas Julien, 2 vls., Paris 1857-8), in the biography of this pilgrim (*Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang,* trad. par Stanislas Julien, Paris 1853) and in the relations of Byzantine ambassadors (*Corpus scriptorum Hist. Byz.,* v. I). We need not dwell here on the latter as the ambassadors give no information on the Semirechyé although they crossed that country. The Byzantines provide some curious data on the manners and customs of the Turks. These are recounted in detail in D. I. Ilovaysky's book *Researches on the beginnings of Russia* (in Russian), Moscow 1876. [See Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue,* St. Petersburg, 1903.]

became the centre of the Western kingdom, and as such remained in all the successive nomad states in the western part of Central Asia. The domination of the Turks plays an important part in the history of the Semirechyé.

The centre of a nomad empire was always a great attraction for the merchants of various countries. Here they found a good market for their wares, especially textiles, which were the main commodity imported into the nomad country both from China and Western Asia. This consideration, coupled with the disturbances which were taking place in Farghana in the seventh century, contributed to the displacing to the North of the principal trade route from Western Asia into China. To avoid Farghana and Kashghar, travellers from Samarqand took a north-easterly route *via* Tashkent and Auliyā-ata into the Semirechyé, down to the banks of the Chu; thence they followed the southern shore of the Issik-kul and crossed the Bedel pass into Aq-su. As far as we know, this route is first mentioned by the seventh century Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan-tsang and the Chinese "History of the T'ang dynasty". This latter work was written in the eleventh century but its information on the western lands belongs entirely to the seventh or eighth century. Chinese itineraries contain no detailed descriptions of the road across the Semirechyé, but they enable us to assume that agriculture, at least in the Chu valley, existed as early as the seventh century, and that it had been introduced by emigrants from Mawarannahr (i.e. the fertile region between the Amu-Darya and the Sïr-Darya), exactly as was later done by colonists from the khanate of Kokand. In Hsüan-tsang's time the whole of the country between the Amu-Darya and the Chu was culturally uniform: clothing, alphabet and language were everywhere the same. The predominant religion was probably Manichaeism [1]. The alphabet, apparently of Syrian origin, contained 32 letters; the writing was vertical and some historical works were already in existence. Of the outward appearance of the natives it is said that they gathered their hair leaving the top of the head uncovered. Some shaved

[1] *ZVO*, VIII, 3-5. [See the German translation, *Zur Gesch. d. Christentums in Mittel-Asien*, Leipzig 1901].

their heads entirely and covered their foreheads with a piece of silk. Half of the inhabitants were agriculturists, the other half merchants. The trading centre was "the town on the river Suyeh" (the Chu) which in the later Muslim sources bears the name of Sūyāb and is located immediately to the south of the Qastek pass. Already in the seventh century merchants from various countries lived in Suyab. To the West of Suyab there were scores of towns, each having its own particular ruler, independent of his neighbours, but all of them recognising the sovereignty of the Turks.

In the environs of Suyab there usually stood the ordu of the qaghan [1] of the Western Turks. It was here that the meeting between Hsüan-tsang and one of the qaghans [2] took place. The qaghan wore a cloak of green silk; his hair was loose, his forehead covered, as was the custom of the local sedentary population, with a piece of silk ten feet long and wound several times round his head. In contrast to the qaghan, his suite wore their hair plaited. The qaghan lived in a large tent which contained many objects made of gold. Inside the tent the dignitaries clad in silk robes sat in two rows on felts (*qoshma*), and behind them stood the qaghan's bodyguard. "Although it was a barbarian king living in a felt tent, one could not fail to look at him with wonder and respect". When the hermit was still within twenty paces of the tent, the qaghan came out to meet him, saluted him, asked him several questions through an interpreter and ordered an iron armchair to be placed for him. The Turks used no wooden seats, which fact Hsüan-tsang explains by their worship of the fire supposed to be contained in the wood. Present in the tent were also ambassadors from China and Kao-ch'ang (i.e. [later] Uyghuria, the region where the towns of Urumchi, Turfan and Hami are now situated). Feasting began to the strains of music. Despite their wildness, the sounds "delighted the ear and trans-

[1] A Turkish title from which by way of contraction the word *khan* is derived. The correctness of the form *qaghan*, which occurs in Russian chronicles, is attested by the Orkhon inscriptions. Muslim authors usually write *khāqān*.

[2] *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang*, pp. 55-8.

ported the soul and heart". The guests ate meat and drank wine, but the hermit was offered vegetable fare and milk. After the feast, at the qaghan's request, the hermit delivered a sermon in the spirit of Buddhist teachings. When the sermon was ended, the qaghan raised his arms, prostrated himself and declared that he accepted the teachings in good faith. When some days later the teacher prepared to depart, he was given for guide a young man who had spent several years in the town of Ch'ang-an (Hsi-an-fu) and spoke excellent Chinese.

Under the qaghan Sha-po-lo tieh-li-shih (A.D. 634-638) the Western Turks were divided into ten tribes, five to the West, and five to the East of the river Chu. The former were called *Nu-shih-pi*, the latter *Tu-lu*. Soon after, the empire of the Western Turks broke up and formed two separate states divided by the river Ili. The members of the reigning family were engaged in constant feuds in which the Chinese also took part. Several qaghans succeeded in restoring the unity of power, but for a short time only. Such was the qaghan A-shih-na Ho-lu in 651. In 657 the Chinese, who a quarter of a century previously had subdued the Eastern Turkish kingdom, brought likewise into submission the Western Turks whose princes were given Chinese titles and regarded as Chinese governors [1]. Sometimes the Turkish princes rebelled against the Chinese and allied themselves against them with the Tibetans who by that time had seized part of Chinese Turkestan. In 704 the qaghan A-shih-na Huai-tao became once more master of all ten clans. The death of his son and successor A-shih-na Hsin, killed in the town of Kulan [2] put an end to the Western Turkish dynasty (*circa* 740 A.D.).

Some time previously the TÜRGESH, a Tu-lu tribe leading a nomadic existence between the Chu and the Ili, had risen to power. The chief *ordu* of their prince was in Sūyāb, the lesser *ordu* on the banks of the Ili. The most powerful of the Türgesh

[1] Iakinf, I, 360-1.

[2] Now the station Tarti (Lugovoye) in the Sïr-Darya province. Cf. V. A. Kallaur's article in the *Annex to the Proceedings of the Turkestan Society of Archaeology*, 5 May 1897, p. 7 (in Russian).

princes was SULU (d. in 738). His might eclipsed even that of the Western Turkish throne, at that time occupied by A-shih-na Huai-tao whose daughter was Sulu's wife. Sulu also formed ties of kinship with the Eastern Turkish qaghans and the rulers of Tibet. He was killed in 738 by a Türgesh prince who bore the title of Mo-ho ta-kan (*Bagha-tarqan). Sulu's son was set upon the throne. Mo-ho ta-kan, in alliance with the rulers of Tashkent and Farghana, defeated him at Sūyāb and took him prisoner. In 740 Mo-ho ta-kan became ruler of the Türgesh and ordered the last of the Western Turkish qaghans to be put to death. But his own rule was short-lived and troublous times set in. In 748 the Chinese governor of Eastern Turkestan, Wang Chêng-hsien, took Suyab and razed it to the ground. Within the next ten years the Türgesh lost every vestige of power. The western part of the Semirechyé was now a dependency of the town of Talas, while Talas depended on the ruler of Tashkent. How much the entire country must have suffered from the ceaseless internecine strife can be judged from the account of the Chinese chronicler who says: "Here the tillers of the soil wear armour and take each other prisoner" [1].

The disintegration of the Western Turkish empire greatly facilitated the advance of the ARABS into Mawarannahr. Arab chroniclers were bound to realise this position and they date the decadence of the Turks from the year 119/737. According to the Arabs [2], the Eastern Turkish qaghan lived in the town of Navākat (in the Chu valley, to the East of Toqmaq), where he had a private pasture and a reserved mountain which none dared approach. The flocks grazing in this pasture and the game on this mountain were intended to supply military expeditions. The qaghan caused much trouble to the Arabs who in consequence nicknamed him Abū-Muzāhim ("the one who pushes, or gores", like a bull or an elephant). However, in a battle in the province of Tokharistan, which lay to the South of the Amu-Darya and to the East of Balkh, the Turks were defeated by the Arabs. On his return to his native country the qaghan was killed in a personal

[1] Iakinf, III, 244-5.
[2] Tabari, *Annales,* II, 1593-1613, 1689-1691.

*vendetta* by the Türgesh prince *Kūr-ṣūl,* which led to a complete dispersal of the Turks. In 739 Kūr-ṣūl, who had reached an advanced age, was taken prisoner by the Arabs on the banks of the Sīr-Darya. He offered a ransom of 1000 horses and 1000 camels, but the Arab governor Naṣr ordered him to be put to death. His body was burned to prevent the Turks from taking his bones back to their country. According to Tabari, this grieved them more than the fact of Kūr-ṣūl's death. In view of the fragmentary and doubtful character both of Chinese and Arab information, we abstain from any comparisons between these sources [1].

## THE QARLUQ [2]

Chinese, Arab and Persian sources enable us to draw a comparatively clear picture of the grouping of the Turkish tribes after the fall of the Western Turkish empire. The tribes which had founded that empire bore, both in the East and West, in addition to the name *Turk* the general appellation *Oghuz* or *Toquz-oghuz* (lit. "the Nine Oghuz"), although, according to Chinese information, the Western Turks were divided into ten tribes. The Sha-tᶜo Turks (i.e. the "Steppe Turks"), who founded a kingdom in the remotest part of Eastern Turkestan, are said by the Chinese to have come originally from the Western

[1] [See H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia,* 1923.]

[2] Chinese sources contain only some data on the events of the eighth century. Information on the situation obtaining in the Semirechyé in the the ninth and tenth centuries is to be found in the works of Arab geographers edited by the Dutch Orientalist de Goeje (*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum,* 8 volumes; vol. VI is accompanied by a French translation). Several works containing the most detailed information on Central Asia, such as Jayhānī's 6 volume Geography and Ibn Khurdādhbih's original, have been lost. They had however been utilised by Persian authors, as for instance the anonymous author of the tenth century work discovered by A. G. Toumansky in Bukhara (see *Z.V.O.,* VIII, p. 121 sq.) and the ninth century historian Gardīzī, a fragment of whose work was published in the Annex to my *Report on a journey into Central Asia* (in Russian), SPb. 1897. [The Toumansky MS, or more exactly the *Ḥudūd al-ᶜĀlam,* was published in facsimile by Barthold (1930) and translated into English by V. Minorsky (1937).]

Turkish kingdom [1]. According to the Arabs it is these Turks who are known by the name Toghuzghuz, i.e. Toquz-Oghuz [2]. Another branch of the Oghuz drew away to the West and founded a kingdom whose centre lay on the lower course of the Sïr-Darya. Memories of the sojourn of the Oghuz in the Semirechyé have survived in the legend which places the residence of the mythical Turk, son of Japhet, on the shores of the Issik-kul [3].

The Türgesh alone remained in the Semirechyé. They divided into two tribes: the Tukhshī (Tukhsi) and the Azī (the reading of these names is doubtful; the Azī may be identical with the people Az, mentioned in the Orkhon inscriptions). In the second half of the eighth century supremacy in the Semirechyé passed to the Qarluq; by that time the bulk of that tribe had left the Altai, whereas their vanguard had reached the banks of the Amu-Darya at the beginning of the century. In 766 the Qarluq occupied Suyab and transferred their capital thither. Their ruler bore the title of *jabghu,* identical with the *yabghu* [4] which often occurs in the Orkhon inscriptions.

Thus the fall of the Turkish empire left the Semirechyé still in the possession of Turkish peoples, unconquered either by the Arabs or the Chinese. The intervention of the Chinese in the affairs of Western Turkestan ceased after their defeat in 751 by the Arab general Ziyād ibn Ṣāliḥ. The Arabs did no more than dislodge the Qarluq from Farghana. In the northwest, as is known, the Muslim conquerors never penetrated beyond the

[1] Iakinf, I, 452.

[2] [Barthold's interpretation of the term *Toquz-oghuz* is controversial. See my article in *BSOAS,* 1948, XII/2, p. 289. V.M.]

[3] *Aboul-Ghazi Béhadour Khan, Histoire des Mogols et des Tatares,* trad. par le Baron Desmaisons, St. Petersbourg 1874, p. 9; *Abul Ghazi Bohadur Khan, Genealogies of the Turcomans,* translated into Russian by A. Toumansky, Askhabad 1897, p. 9. The oldest form of this legend is contained in the Persian twelfth century work *Mujmal al-tawārīkh,* the only existing copy of which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Ancien Fonds Persan, No. 62, f. 64. [Published in Tehran in 1939.]

[4] The Chinese use one word for both titles, on the correct reading of which see Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon,* Helsingfors 1896, p. 59.

Talas. The peaceful penetration of Muslim culture by means of commercial relations played a far more important role in the destinies of the Turks than the success of Muslim arms. The population of Mawarannahr had always shown commercial enterprise, and in pre-Islamic times had founded factories in various parts of Central Asia. Soghdian colonies were to be found even in the Toquz-Oghuz country, the remotest region of Eastern Turkestan [1]. The fact that the SOGHDIANS had a part to play in the Semirechyé may be gathered from the report of a tenth century Persian geographer who says that the village Begligh or, according to another reading, Begliligh, situated north of the Qastak pass, was called in Soghdian *Samaknā* [2]. As usual the merchants were followed by missionaries of the various creeds professed in Mawarannahr, including CHRISTIANS of the Nestorian denomination. According to the testimony of Muslim writers many towns of Turkestan had Christian churches. It is said of the Jikil [Chigil], a nomad people of the Semirechyé living near the Issik-kul, that there were Christians among them [3].

Muslim authors describe in detail the trade route from Western Asia to China across the Semirechyé, and mention several towns along it, though the reading of the majority of these names is doubtful [4]. The town of Jūl (perhaps from Turkish *chöl* "steppe") stood near Pishpek, probably on the site of the village of Alamadin. Here the road from Taraz (Talas, Auliya-ata) was joined by the road from Akhsīkat (i.e. from the Namanghān district, across the Qaraqol pass [5]. Navākat, or Navīkat, was a large commercial centre in the valley of the Chu. At this point the road divided into two branches: one ran through the Jil-arīq gorge on to the shores of the Issik-kul; the other led northwards

[1] *Hudūd al-ʿAlam,* f. 17.

[2] *Ibid.,* f. 18.

[3] Grigoryev, *On the Arab traveller Abū-Dulaf* (in Russian), SPb. 1872, pp. 27-28. On the territory of the Jikil see below. [Abu-Dulaf's report is definitely spurious. See Minorsky, *Abū-Dulaf's second risāla,* Cairo, 1955.]

[4] On this route see my *Report,* pp. 30-2, 114; also *ZVO,* VIII, 15-7.

[5] *Hudūd al-ʿālam,* f. 18.

to Suyab. The distance between Jūl and Navākat was 15 farsakhs, i.e. about 50 miles. Navākat can therefore be located at the point where the road to Qarabulaq branches off from the road following the left bank of the Chu. The whole of this region belonged to the Qarluq, while the shores of the Issik-kul belonged mainly to the Jikil (*Chigil), a clan that had detached itself from the Qarluq. Between Navākat and the gorge there was also a large commercial centre Karmīnkat (another reading: Kumbarkat), belonging to the Labān clan of the Qarluq. The ruler bore the title of Qutagīn-Labān [1]. The gorge was even then called Jil. According to the historian Gardīzī, this word meant "narrow, tight". Twelve farsakhs to the south of the gorge was situated the town of Yār which could turn out 3,000 warriors. This was the capital of the Jil ruler who bore the title of *taksīn*. Judging by the distances quoted the town must have been situated on the shores of the Issik-kul, namely on its southern shore, as the lake remained to the left of the road. 5 farsakhs from Yār was the town of Ton, evidently in the valley of the homonymous small river, where considerable ruins are still extant. Three days' journey from Ton stood the town of Barskhān. Between these two towns only Jikil tents were to be found. The name of the town has probably survived in that of the small river Barskaun. According to the geographer Qudāma, Barskhan was formed by a whole group of villages, four large and five small ones. The ruler bore the title of *Managh* [2], or *Tabīn-Barskhān*, according to another source. The town could turn out 6,000 warriors. According to the *Hudūd* the dihqān of Barskhān was of Qarluq origin, but the inhabitants went over to the Toquz-Oghuz [3]. The town enjoyed considerable importance as the centre of communications between Eastern and Western Turkestan. In

[1] *Mujmal*, f. 273. The word *Labān* is definitely of non-Turkish origin, though the author of the *Hudūd al-ᶜAlam* considers this clan as Qarluq. [Possibly, **Alban*. V. M.]

[2] *Mujmal, ibid.*, [*Manaf?].

[3] [Rather: although the *dihqān* is a Qarluq, the inhabitants are in sympathy with the Toquz-oghuz. See now Minorsky's commentary on the *Hudūd*, p. 15, and Minorsky, *Tamīm's journey to the Uyghurs*, BSOAS, 1948].

the genealogical legends of the Turks one of the sons of Turk bears the name of Barskhan [1].

There also existed a direct route to Barskhan from Farghana, namely from Uzgand across the Yasï (Jasï) pass, the Arpa valley, the valleys of the rivers Qara-qoyin, Atbash and Narïn [2]. On a mound, near the confluence of the Qara-qoyin and the Atbash, stood the town of Atbash (now the ruins Qoshoy-Qurghan), equidistant (six days' journey) from Farghana, Barskhan and the frontier of the Tibetan possessions (in Eastern Turkestan). The road into the latter probably lay across the Turughart pass. There was not a single village between Atbash and Barskhan. The southern part of the Semirechyé was occupied by the Yaghmā people (the forward branch of the Toquz-Oghuz), to whom Kashghar also belonged. The Narïn [3] was regarded as the boundary between the Qarluq and Yaghmā possessions.

Lastly, the circuitous route from Navākat through Sūyāb was also connected with Barskhan. Sūyāb was situated to the north of the Chu in the Türgesh land, at the foot of the mountains and at a distance of 3 farsakhs from Navākat, i.e. apparently on the site of present day Qara-bulaq. The ruler was the brother of one of the Turkish khans, but he bore the Iranian title of Yalān-shāh, i.e. "King of Heroes". The town could turn out 20,000 warriors. On the road to Suyab, at 1 farsakh from Navākat, lay the town of Panjïkat which could turn out 8,000 warriors. Near Suyab there were three villages, each having its own separate ruler. The mountains where the Qastek pass is situated were held sacred by the Turks, who believed them to be the abode of the deity. To the north of the pass lay the town of Beglilïgh, the ruler of which bore, according to one source, the title of *Badān-Sāngū*, and according to another, the Turkish title of *Yināltegīn*. He had 3,000 warriors, in addition to whom the town turned out 7,000 more [4]. Caravans covered the distance between Sūyāb and Barskhan in 15 days, the Turkish mail in three. This seems to be

[1] *Mujmal*, f. 61.
[2] See Barthold, *Report*, p. 41.
[3] *Hudūd*, ff. 9, 17.
[4] *Ibid.*, f. 18. Barthold, *Report*, pp. 125-126. *Mujmal*, f. 273.

the route across the Qastak pass, through Verny [Alma-ata], along the northern slopes of the Trans-Ili Alatau and across the Qïzïl-qaya pass (on the plateau of San-Tash) into Qaraqol. The number of days quoted by the Arabs for the distance between Toqmaq and Qaraqol, along the northern shore of the Issik-kul, is too great. On the northern shore of the Issik-kul, in the Jikil country and on the border of the Qarluq possessions, lay the large trading town of Sī-kūl, probably identical with the town of Issik-kul, which still existed in the days of Timur [1].

Of all the Turkish peoples, the Qarluq were naturally the most open to the influence of Muslim culture. The report on the conversion of the Qarluq-jabghu to Islam [2] under the Caliph Mahdi (775-785) is doubtful, but in the tenth century there were cathedral mosques in several towns to the east of Talas [3]. Muslim culture had affected the general way of life of the Qarluq, for among them there were not only hunters and nomads but also agriculturists [4]. The Qarluq suffered from frequent incursions by other Turkish peoples, especially the Toquz-Oghuz [5], who in the tenth century were reputed to be the most powerful of all the Turks. The majority of the Toquz-Oghuz with their khan were Manichaeans, but there were also Christians, Buddhists and Muslims among them [6]. We have seen that Barskhān, which had formerly belonged to the Qarluq, was in the tenth century in the hands of the Toquz-Oghuz [7]. The town of Panchul (the reading is doubtful), or the present day Aq-su, is mentioned as belonging to the Qarluq though its ruler had been a dependant of the Toquz-Oghuz. Later the town was taken by the QIRGHIZ [8]. At that time the Qirghiz lived in the upper basin of the Yenisey, where, according to Chinese sources, they were visited every

[1] *Report,* pp. 59-60.
[2] Yaᶜqūbī, *Historiae,* ed. Houtsma, Leiden 1883, II, 479.
[3] *BGA,* III, 275.
[4] *Hudūd,* f. 17.
[5] [i.e. the Uyghurs of Eastern Tᶜien-shan. V. M.]
[6] G. Flügel, *Mani,* Leipzig 1862, pp. 105-108. *Report,* p. 115.
[7] [This seems to be a mistaken interpretation of the text, see above].
[8] *Hudūd,* f. 18. [See V. Minorsky's translation and commentary, § 15, 13.]

three years by Arab caravans carrying silk from Kucha. Trade brought the Qirghiz into closer relations with the Arabs, and the Qarluq with the Tibetans [1]. It is possible that the Qirghiz, having allied themselves with the Qarluq, took the field against the Toquz-Oghuz and occupied that part of the Semirechyé which is their present home. In any case, the bulk of the Qirghiz migrated into the Semirechyé considerably later. Had they lived in the Semirechyé at the time of the Qarakhanids, they would have been converted to Islam in the tenth or eleventh century. As it is, they were still looked upon as heathen in the sixteenth century.

Finally the valley of the Chu, the centre of the Qarluq possessions, also passed into the hands of their enemies. Towards 940 some "heathen Turks" seized the town of Balāsāghūn [2], which played an important part in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Muqaddasi [3] is the only tenth century geographer to mention this town which he describes as "large, populous and rich". There are no precise data on the location of Balāsāghūn, but elsewhere [4] I have tried to show that it was situated in the Chu valley. The people which is said to have seized the Chu valley must have been identical with the people from which sprang up the Qarakhanid dynasty, under whose rule the western half of Central Asia was unified in the tenth century.

## THE QARAKHANIDS [5]

The historians do not specify the Turkish people to which the Qarakhanids belonged. There are grounds for believing that this

[1] Iakinf, I, 449.

[2] *Report*, p. 35.

[3] *BGA*, III, 275.

[4] *Report*, p. 33 sq. This is also the opinion of N. A. Aristov, *Notes* (in Russian), p. 39.

[5] This term was suggested by Grigoryev, *The Qarakhanids in Mawarannahr* (in Russian), SPb. 1874, and it seems to me the most suitable. Grigoryev and other scholars who wrote on the Qarakhanids relied principally on the work of Ibn al-Athīr, whose information is seldom confirmed by earlier and better informed authors, such as ᶜUtbi (the Arabic text published in the East; I utilised the excellent MS. of the

was the Yaghmā, whose ruler bore the title of *Boghrā-khan [1], very common among the Qarakhanids. If such is the case, the invasion of the Chu valley must have come from the South. Here the Qarakhanids were soon converted to Islam but the available information on that event is purely legendary. According to the tradition quoted by Ibn al-Athīr [2], the first to embrace Islam was Shabuq (or Satuq) Qara-khaqan. In a dream he saw a man who decended from the heavens and said to him in Turkish: "embrace Islam for your salvation in this world and the world to come". The oldest version of another legend is found in the work of Jamāl al-Qarshi [3] who says that the first of the khans of this dynasty to be converted to Islam was Satuq Boghra khan Abdul-Karīm who died in 344/955-6. Both legends undoubtedly refer to one and the same person, as both of them call this khan the great-grandfather of the *ilak* [*ilig*?], which was the Turkish title of khan Naṣr, conqueror of Mawarannahr. Abdul-Karīm's grandson Hārūn still bears the title of Boghra-khan in one of the contemporary authors [4].

This Hārūn. whose capital was at Balāsāghūn, died in A.D. 992 [5] on his way from Mawarannahr which he had been obliged to leave on account of ill-health. The conquest of Mawarannahr was completed in 999 by the *ilak* Nasr. The advance of the Qarakhanids was halted by the GHAZNAVID Sultan Mahmūd (997-1030), the conqueror of Afghanistan, of the eastern half of Persia and

Asiatic Museum No. 510), Gardīzī (the unique MS. is in Oxford [a second MS. is in Cambridge]) and the *Tārīkh-i Bayhaqi,* ed. Morley [new edition, Tehran, 1945]. All three wrote in the eleventh century. Valuable information is also to be found in Jamāl al-Qarshī who in 1282 translated into Persian from the Arabic the dictionary of al-Jauhari and in the beginning of the fourteenth century wrote his Addenda (*Mulḥaqāt*) to it, known until now only in one MS. which K. G. Salemann received from V. P. Nalivkin. Cf. *ZVO,* VIII. [Printed by Barthold in the Annex to the Russian edition of *Turkestan.*]. [See now O. Prïtsak's studies in *Oriens,* 1950, III/2, 209-28, and in *Der Islam,* B. 31/1, 18-68.]

[1] *Mujmal,* f. 273. [2] Ed. Tornberg, XI, 54.

[3] Ff. 35-7.

[4] *Journal Asiatique,* V-me série, t. III, p. 340.

[5] Thus in Gardīzī, f. 134, and Bayhaqi, p. 234. Wrong in Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 67-68.

part of India. On 4 January 1008 the Turks "with broad faces, small eyes, flat noses, sparse hair (in their beards), iron swords and black clothing", as ᶜUtbi [1] describes them, suffered a crushing defeat near Balkh. Since then they undertook no further expeditions beyond the Amu-Darya [2].

Already in the eleventh century, the empire of the Qarakhanids was divided into fiefs, whose allegiance to the head of the empire was determined solely by the latter's personal qualities. Internecine strife, inevitable under the system of *udyels* [3], soon broke out, especially between the two main branches of the Qarakhanids, represented by the descendants of Satuq Boghra khan's grandsons, Ali (father of Nasr) and Hārūn. We possess only scanty, and in some cases contradictory, information on the stages of this struggle and on the identity of the rivals who in turn became masters of the Semirechyé. According to ᶜUtbi, the *ilak* was on bad terms with his brother Tughan-khan of Kashghar, whom he suspected of intriguing with Mahmūd of Ghazna. The *ilak* died in 403/1012-3 and Tughan-khan succeeded to the throne [4]. It is doubtful whether he could have held Mawarannahr, but he certainly ruled in the Semirechyé, and probably also in Eastern Turkestan, from whence he was gradually ousted by Qadir-khan Yūsuf, son of Boghra-khan Hārūn. ᶜUtbi and Ibn al-Athir call Qadir-khan ruler of Khotan. Numismatic evidence [5] shows that from 404/1013-4 he ruled in Yarkand and from 405/1014-5 in Kashghar as well.

In 408/1017-8 the Semirechyé was invaded by nomad peoples

[1] F. 99.

[2] Ibn al-Athir's report on the expedition of 410/1019-20 is not confirmed by other sources.

[3] [This old Russian term refers to the system under which the father's possessions were divided between his descendants.]

[4] The history of the Qarakhanids according to Ibn al-Athīr (who in his turn utilised for the greater part the work of ᶜUtbi), has been set forth in V. V. Radloff's book *On the question of the Uyghurs* (in Russian), pp. 122-125 (where Mahmūd, who bore the title of Yamīn al-daula, is mistakenly said to be a Samanid).

[5] I am utilising the still unpublished *Catalogue* of Muslim coins of the Imperial Hermitage by A. K. Markov, who kindly communicated it to me.

from the Far East. Among these were the KHITAY, who at that time lorded it over Northern China and the eastern part of Central Asia, and after whom, as we know, the Celestial empire was re-named [1]. The heathens [2] were eight days distant from Balāsāghūn when they heard that Tughan-khan was marching against them with a large army. They retreated, and the khan pursued them for three months, finally overtaking and utterly defeating them.

According to ᶜUtbi, Tughan-khan died soon after this battle, and was succeeded by his brother Arslan-khan, but Bayhaqi avers that Tughan-khan ruled in the Semirechyé till 1025. Numismatic evidence suggests that Arslan-khan Muhammad b. ᶜAli ruled mainly in the north-eastern part of the Sïr-Darya province, though coins in his name were also struck in Bukhara.

In 1025 Qadir-khan Yūsuf and Sultan Mahmud simultaneously invaded Mawarannahr where ruled Ali-tegin, brother of Nasr, Tughan-khan and Arslan-khan. The meeting of the head of the Qarakhanids with the sultan, which took place near Samarqand, is described in detail in Gardīzī [3]. The exchange of courtesies between the two monarchs proceeded according to strict etiquette and with a meticulous observance of full equality. It is noteworthy that the Turkish khan showed himself a better Muslim than Mahmud by refusing to drink the wine offered him. A treaty was concluded by the terms of which Mahmud's daughter was given to Yaghan-tegin [4], Qadir-khan's second son, and Qadir-khan's daughter to Muhammad, Mahmud's son. Mahmud pledged himself to help Yaghan-tegin to wrest Mawarannahr from Ali-tegin. On the pretext of an expedition to India, Mahmud evaded this obligation and this led to the breaking off of the projected marriages. Ali-tegin remained

[1] See above p. 27.

[2] Their number varies in the different Muslim sources and the figures are evidently pure guess-work.

[3] F. 153. Bayhaqi, pp. 82, 255, 655, also speaks of the interview and its outcome.

[4] This is the Turkish word *yaghan* "elephant". Cf. the titles Boghra ("dromedary"), Arslan ("lion") [and Tughan ("falcon")].

in possession of Mawarannahr, whereas his brother Tughan-khan was ousted from Balasaghun by Qadir-khan's army.

Qadir-khan Yūsuf's possessions, at the time of his death in 1031, or 1032 [1], included, besides Eastern Turkestan, the Semirechyé and the eastern part of the Sïr-Darya province, namely the districts of Auliya-ata and Chimkant. His capital was Kashghar. Eastern Turkestan and the Semirechyé fell to the share of his eldest son, Boghra-tegin Sulayman, who took the title of Arslan-khan. Talas (now Auliya-ata) and Isfijāb (now Sayram, near Chimkant) fell to the second son, Yaghan-tegin Muhammad [2] who assumed the title of Boghra-khan. Both brothers entertained relations with the Ghaznavid Sultan Masᶜūd, son of Mahmud. The plan of taking Mawarannahr from Ali-tegin and giving it to Boghra-khan [3] was considered but once again not realised. A certain Lashkar-khan [4] is also mentioned as ruler of Sakmān(?), which could hardly be identical with Samaknā, the Soghdian name for Beglīgh (see above pp. 88, 90).

The relations between Arslan-khan and his brother soon became hostile. In 435/1043-4 Arslan-khan divided his possessions among his relatives keeping only Kashghar and Balasaghun, but retaining the suzerainty over all the other lands [5]. We know that by that time the *udyel* system (see above p. 94) had existed for at least half a century, but it is quite likely that the authority of the head of the empire was definitely lost through Arslan-khan's weakness. Towards 1056 Boghra-khan took Arslan-khan prisoner and seized his possessions. Fifteen months later he himself was poisoned by his wife. Ibn al-Athīr places Boghra-khan's death

[1] According to Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 211, in 423/1032; according to Jamāl Qarshi, f. 37, in the beginning of Moharram 424/1032; Bayhaqi at one place, p. 89, says that Qadir-khan died two years after Masᶜūd's accession, and at another, p. 656, that he died one year after that event.

[2] Bayhaqi, 525-6, 655-6. The names are in Ibn al-Athir, where Muhammad is erroneously called Mahmud. The correct reading is on coins and in ᶜAufi, see below, p. 98, note 3.

[3] Bayhaqi, 418.

[4] *Ibid.*, 660.

[5] Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 356, cf. *ZVO*, VIII, 23.

in 439/1047-8, but Bayhaqi [1], who was a contemporary of these events, affirms that the khan died only in 449/1057-8. It was his wish to appoint his eldest son Chaghrï-tegin Husayn as his successor that led to his assassination, for the queen favoured the candidature of her own infant son Ibrahim. The latter became khan but soon perished in the war against Yinal-tegin, the ruler of Barskhan, and for sixteen years (451-67/1059-74-5) Kashghar and Balāsāghūn were ruled jointly by Qadir-khan's sons, Toghrïl Qara-khan Yusuf and his brother, Boghra-khan Hārūn. They made war on Shams al-mulk Naṣr, ruler of Mawarannahr (and grandson of the first *ilak* Naṣr). By the peace which terminated the hostilities, Khojand, i.e. probably the river Sïr-Darya, was recognised as the boundary between Mawarannahr and the possessions of the Turkestan Qarakhanids. Toghrïl-khan was succeeded by his son Toghrïl-tegin who was deposed after two months, whereas Boghra-khan Harun ruled on for 29 years in Kashghar, Balāsāghūn and Khotan [2]. It was for this prince, when he was joint ruler with his brother, that the didactic poem *Qutadghu-bilik*, the first literary work in the Turkish language, was written in 462/1069. The author, who was a native of Balāsāghūn [3], completed his poem in Kashghar.

In 1089 the SELJUK Sultan Malikshah took Samarqand and advanced as far as Uzgand. The khan of Kashghar (probably Harun) was obliged to acknowledge himself his vassal. After Malikshah's withdrawal, Turkish mercenaries of Jikil origin rebelled in Samarqand. The Jikils invited Yaᶜqūb-tegin, ruler of

[1] Bayhaqi, 230.

[2] Ibn al-Athïr, IX, 211-213.

[3] Until quite lately only one MS. of this work was known — in Vienna. From this MS. Vambéry published his edition — with a very unreliable German translation (*Uigurische Sprachmonumente und das Kudatku-Bilik*. Leipzig 1870), and so did V. V. Radloff — in facsimile (SPb. 1890) and transcription (1891). This year (1898) a second MS. has been discovered in Cairo. [A third copy of the book, in Arabic script, was found in Farghana. Now all the three copies have been reproduced photographically in Istanbul. In 1923 Barthold showed in BSOS, III/1, 151-8, that the dedicatee of the poem was Tafghach Boghra Qara-khan Abu-ᶜAli Hasan, son of Sulayman Arslan Qara-khaqan, of whose time we possess a document dated A.H. 474, or 494. V. M.]

Atbash and brother of the khan of Kashghar. Yaqub seized Samarqand but at Malikshah's approach fled to Atbash, where he was attacked by his brother's army. Atbash was plundered by the Kashghar troops, and Yaqub himself was taken prisoner. For a second time, Malikshah reached Uzgand and summoned the khan to deliver Yaqub to him. The khan was slow in complying with the request which went against his sense of honour. Finally he sent his son to Malikshah with orders to take Yaqub with him, blind him and leave him in a fortress. Only if this left the Sultan still unsatisfied, was the prince to take Yaqub to Uzgand. Meanwhile Kashghar was invested by another ruler, Toghrïl, son of Yinal, whose residence lay 80 farsakhs (about 300 miles) from Kashghar. This Toghrïl may have been the ruler of Barskhan and the son of the above-mentioned Yinal-tegin. The khan was taken prisoner, and when this news reached the khan's son and his companions, Yaqub persuaded them to let him go. Malikshah concluded a treaty with Yaqub and withdrew from Uzgand leaving Yaqub to carry on the war against Toghrïl [1]. There is no information as to the outcome of this struggle. Harun must have succeeded in freeing himself for, as we have seen, he ruled in Kashghar till the beginning of the twelfth century.

In 1102, i.e. immediately after the death of Boghra-khan Harun, Mawarannahr was invaded by the ruler of Balāsāghūn and Talas, Qadïr-khan [2] Jibrail, son of Qara-khan Omar and grandson of Boghra-khan Muhammad [3]. In Qadïr-khan's army there were infidels besides the Muslims. He seized the whole country up to the Amu-Darya, but on the banks of this river, he was defeated by the Seljuk Sultan Sanjar, taken prisoner and killed [4]. After that we hear no more of the Semirechyé until the invasion of the Qara-Khitay.

There exists but little information on the internal history of

[1] Ibn al-Athïr, X, 112-6.

[2] In one passage Ibn al-Athïr, IX, 213, calls him Tughan-khan.

[3] Thus in ᶜAufi, a thirteenth century writer, on whom see *ZVO*, IX, 262. Narshakhi calls him the grandson of Toghrïl-khan, see N. Likoshin's translation, p. 22.

[4] Ibn al-Athïr, X, 239.

the country at the time of the Qarakhanids. As the first Muslim dynasty in the Turkish country, the Qarakhanids must have contributed to the spreading of Islam, and this gives great importance to their dominion in Central Asia. According to Ibn al-Athīr [1], in 349/960 a Turkish people numbering 200,000 tents was converted to Islam This report must certainly refer to the inhabitants of the Semirechyé or to those of Eastern Turkestan, but more probably to the former as the number of nomads in Eastern Turkestan was never large. In the autumn of 1043 the nomad Turks of the present day Qirghiz [now: *Qazakh*] steppes also embraced Islam. These Turks, numbering 10,000 tents, lived during the summer in the neighbourhood of the Bulghar country, and during the winter near Balāsāghūn [2]. Unfortunately the historians are silent on the struggle between Islam and other cultural elements. Eastern Turkestan had always been under the influence of Chinese culture. As late as the first half of the eleventh century some of the Qarakhanid rulers, even in Mawarannahr, used to adopt the title of Tabghach-khan or Tamghach-khan, which in the eighth century Orkhon inscription is applied to the Chinese emperors. Since 459/1067 the title *malik al-mashriq wa al-Ṣīn* ("king of the East and of China") [3] occurs on Qarakhanid coins. This can only be explained by the fascination of Chinese culture and of the Chinese court [4]. Even that part of Eastern Turkestan which bordered on China, with the towns of Urumchi, Turfan and Hami, to say nothing of China proper, could hardly have ever belonged to the Qarakhanid empire, for here Islam did not prevail before the fifteenth century. The legends on the coins of the Qarakhanid show that the Uyghur alphabet was used in their dominions side by side with the common Muslim (Arabic) alphabet. The Uyghur script was derived from the Syriac and it was the Nestorians who introduced it into Central Asia, as it is generally admitted. Some

[1] *Ibid.*, X, 396. See above p. 20.

[2] *ZVO*, VIII, 39.

[3] Radlov, *On the question of the Uyghurs*, p. 125.

[4] [Similar titles are sometimes meant to indicate that the ruler was on the border with some infidels. V. M.] See *ZVO*, VIII, 22.

of the cultural terms occurring in the *Qutadghu-bilik* and similar to those used by the Mongols were undoubtedly borrowed from the Uyghurs [1] both by the Qarakhanids and the Mongols. We shall see that under the Mongols the Christian and Buddhist Uyghurs were the most dangerous opponents of the Muslims. In Central Asia such rivalry must have existed even earlier, though positive evidence on this subject is lacking.

## THE QARA-KHITAY [2]

In the beginning of the tenth century A.D., the Khitay, who are generally regarded as Tunguz with a certain admixture of Mongol elements [3], founded a vast empire, stretching from the Pacific to Lake Baikal and the Tien-shan. The dynasty, which Chinese historians call Liao, resided in Northern China. Owing to its long sway over China the house of Liao was strongly influenced by Chinese culture. In 1125 another Tunguz people, the Jürchen, in alliance with the Southern-Chinese dynasty Sung, put an end to the domination of the Khitay. The remnants of the Khitay, headed by Ye-lü Ta-shih, a member of the royal family, migrated, to the West where they founded a new state.

[1] One branch of this Turkish people, which had settled down in the part of Eastern Turkestan bordering on China, had attained a considerable degree of culture about the fifth century A.D. [?]

[2] Very detailed information on the eastern empire of the Khitay is contained in Prof. V. P. Vasilyev's work, *History and antiquities of the Eastern part of Central Asia* (in Russian), SPb. 1857. Oppert, in his *Der Presbyter Johannes,* zweite Auflage, Berlin 1870, and Zarnke, in his *Fünf Abhandlungen über den Presbyter Johannes,* Leipzig 1874-5, have tried to survey the available reports on the Qara-Khitay empire. Mirkhond, the fifteenth century compilator, whose report is reproduced by Oppert, borrowed his information from Juvayni, a thirteenth century historian. The latter speaks of the Qara-Khitay with far more detail than the other Muslim writers, but his report contains many contradictions and must be used with great caution. I have used two MSS. of the Imperial Public Library — MS. IV, 2, 34, and MS. Khanikov 71. A French translation of Juvayni's chapter on the Qara-Khitay is given in the first volume of d'Ohsson's *Histoire des Mongols,* ed. 1834 and 1852, p 441 sq. *V.s.,* p. 26.

[3] [Nowadays, the language of the Khitay is taken to be a strongly palatalised Mongolian dialect. V. M.]

The movement of the Khitay followed two routes: part of them took the direction across Eastern Turkestan, but were defeated by Arslan-khan Ahmad of Kashghar, son of Tabghach-khan Hasan and grandson of Arslan-khan Sulaymān [1]. Ibn al-Athīr gives the year 522/1128 as the date of this battle in which the leader of the Khitay was killed. Actually it must have taken place several years later, for Sultan Sanjar's letter to the Baghdad government, written in July 1135, speaks of this battle as of a recent event [2]. The Chinese sources know only of this branch of the Khitay migration and connect with it the formation of the empire of the "Western Liao". It is therefore doubtful whether the founder of the Qara-Khitay state was actually identical with the Ye-lü Ta-shih of the Chinese sources.

All Muslim sources agree on the fact that the first Muslim ruler to submit to the Khitay was the khan of Balāsāghūn. According to Ibn al-Athīr [3], part of the Khitay, numbering 10,000 tents, settled down in the Semirechyé already under Arslan-khan (probably Sulaymān). At first they were established on the frontier between China and the Qarakhanid possessions with the duty of defending the mountain passes. In return they received allotments of land and a regular salary. One day they stopped a rich caravan and requested the merchants to direct them to good grazing grounds. The merchants sent them towards Balāsāghūn, i.e. into the Semirechyé. We do not know the source of a sixteenth century compiler [4] according to whom this migration occurred in 433/1041-2. He adds that though Arslan-khan sum-

[1] Thus in Jamāl Qarshi. See *Turkestan*, p. 323, cf. above p. 97.

[2] *ZVO*, X, 221.

[3] XI, 55-56.

[4] *Description topographique et historique de Boukhara par Mohammed Nerchakhy*, texte publié par Ch. Schéfer, Paris 1892, p. 234. The immigrants are said to have come from Tibet. The compilation mentioned, which Schéfer was unable to identify, is the *Tārīkh-i Haydari* by Amīn Ahmad Rāzī, who lived in Persia at the end of the sixteenth century. Until now this work has been known in a unique MS. in Berlin (Pertsch catalogue No. 418). On this MS. cf. Veliaminov-Zernov, *Research on the Kasimov tsars and princes* (in Russian), II, 271. The text published by Schéfer coincides literally with the corresponding chapters of the Berlin MS.

moned the newcomers to embrace Islam, they firmly refused to comply, but, as in everything else they fully submitted to the khan, the latter left them alone. Ibn al-Athīr only says that Arslan-khan often raided them, so that they held him in great fear. At the time of the invasion of the Semirechyé by the Khitay, the settlers joined their countrymen and together with them conquered Turkestan.

According to Juvayni, the Khitay, or Qara-Khitay (Black Khitay) as the Muslim writers call them, crossed the Qirghiz country and reached Emil where they built a town of which only faint traces remained in the thirteenth century. This suggests that they first settled in the region of present-day Chughuchaq. Here their number grew to 40,000 tents. The ruler of Balāsāghūn of the Qarakhanid dynasty (whose name is not given) invoked their aid against the Turkish tribes which were molesting him, namely the Qanglï and the Qarluq. The Qara-Khitay occupied Balāsāghūn and, setting aside the weak ruler, founded their own state which stretched from the Yenisey to Talas. Then they conquered the Qanglï, brought into subjection Eastern Turkestan, in 531/1137 defeated near Khojand [1] Mahmud-khan, the ruler of Mawarannahr, and in 1141 completely routed the army of the Seljuk Sultan Sanjar on the Qatvan steppe [2]. A special detachment was detailed to subdue Khwarazm.

Thus both the Semirechyé and Turkestan became part of the Qara-Khitay empire. The head of the empire bore the title of *gurkhan* (in Muslim interpretation "khan of khans"). Some European scholars following Grigoryev [3] have connected this title with the Turco-Mongol word *gūrkān* ("son-in-law"). As relatives of the Eastern Liao, the Qara-Khitay assumed such an appellation, which was later adopted by Timur and his successors. It is difficult to say how well-founded this view is and whether

[1] The most detailed account of the military operations in Mawarannahr and of the personality of the first gurkhan is in Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 55-57.

[2] To the North of Samarqand, between the "Stone bridge" and Yanï-qurghan.

[3] In his translation of Ritter, *Erdkunde,* Eastern or Chinese Turkestan, fasc. I, SPb. 1869, p. 398. [Grigoryev's explanation is untenable].

the difference between the two forms *gurkhan* and *gurkan* should be explained by the dialectal peculiarities of the Qara-Khitay language [1]. According to Ibn al-Athīr the first gurkhan professed the Manichaean religion; he was of handsome appearance, wore garments of Chinese silk and veiled his face, following the custom of the monarchs of his people. He enjoyed a great authority over his subjects and maintained strict discipline among his troops. It was strictly forbidden to plunder the country. When the Qara-Khitay occupied a town, they contented themselves with taking one dinar [2] from every house, which suggests that they had adopted the old Chinese system of taxation per house. However, rape committed by the soldiers, i.e. the violation of the family rights of the local population, was not punished. The gurkhan did not distribute fiefs among his subordinates and never, except on short expeditions, entrusted to anyone commands over more than 100 horsemen. Local rulers on submitting to the gurkhan wore a silver tablet on their belts as a sign of their vassalage. The number of such vassal rulers was considerable. As far as it is known, the territories under the direct administration of the gurkhans were only: the Qulja region, the southern part of the Semirechyé and the north-eastern part of the Sïr-Darya province. The gurkhan's headquarters were situated to the west of the Ili, on the banks of the Chu, probably not far from Balāsāghūn, and were called Khosun-ordu [3] (lit. "strong ordu"), or *Khoto* ("the house") [4]. Part of the Semirechyé to the north of the Ili belonged to the QARLUQ khans, whose capital was Qayalïq, situated on the plain somewhat to the west of Kopal [5]. The Qarakhanids continued to rule over Mawarannahr and Eastern Turkestan. In the state of the gurkhans, at least at the later stage, we find the same three degrees of vassalage as in

[1] [*Gür* is now considered to mean "general, universal"].

[2] The value of this gold coin was about 13 francs [or 9 shillings]. Cf. Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte des Orients,* Wien 1875, v. I, p. 15.

[3] *Report,* p. 36.

[4] *Jahān-nāma,* Paris MS., f. 204-6. On this thirteenth century work see *ZVO,* IX, 302-303.

[5] On the position of this town see Schmidt, *Ueber Rubruks Reise,* Berlin 1885, p. 44.

the history of the Mongol domination in Russia [1]: the Qarluq khan, like the ruler of Samarqand, had to acquiesce in the presence of a permanent representative of the gurkhan; in the case of other rulers, as for instance the Khwarazmshah, only tax-collectors were periodically sent; others finally, like the head of the Bukhara clergy, who for a time had taken over the secular power, were given the right to collect themselves the taxes due to the Qara-Khitay [2].

According to Ibn al-Athīr, the first gurkhan died in the beginning of 1143 [3]. His daughter was set upon the throne, but she soon died. The power then passed to her mother, widow of the gurkhan, and to his son Muhammad. According to Chinese reports, the rule of the gurkhan Ye-lü i-lieh, son of the founder of the empire, and the regency of his mother, came before his sister's reign. This is confirmed by Juvayni, according to whom the gurkhan's daughter ruled the Qara-Khitay kingdom in the eleven-seventies. Ye-lü i-lieh ordered a census of his subjects whose number was found to be 84,500 families [4]. This figure seems to comprise only the nomad population of the territories under the gurkhan's direct rule. The Chinese call his sister P'u-su-wan (?), and a Muslim writer of the beginning of the thirteenth century [5] gives her the title of "khan of khans". According to Juvayni, her husband was the actual ruler during her reign, but the Chinese say that the queen killed her husband and began to live openly with her lover. A rising was fomented by the father of the murdered husband. When the mob surrounded the palace, the queen appeared before the people and under their eyes killed her lover, thus saving her life. In Juvayni's version, the gurkhan's widow was killed by the rebels together with her lover. The gurkhan's widow is probably named here by mistake for his daughter, whom Juvayni does not mention in his survey

[1] Solovyev, *History of Russia* (in Russian), ed. Obshch. Polza, book I, p. 1157 sq.

[2] Ibn al-Athīr, XII, 170.

[3] [See Marquart, *Ueber das Volkstum der Komanen,* 1914, p. 237.]

[4] Oppert, p. 145.

[5] *Nouveaux mélanges orientaux,* Paris 1886, pp. 21, 37. Schéfer's translation of this passage, as of many others, is faulty.

of the history of the Qara-Khitay, although in another passage he speaks of her reign. After the death of P$^{c}$u-su-wan, the gurkhan Ye-lü i-lieh's second son, Ye-lü Chi-lu-ku (?), was set upon the throne. According to Juvayni, he killed his elder brother. In some Muslim sources the last gurkhan is called Mānī, in others Qūmān [1].

The frequent periods of regency exercised by women, and especially the private life of the Mary Stuart of the Semirechyé, were bound to weaken the authority of the throne. Some Muslim reports suggest that several Qara-Khitay nobles nearly equalled the gurkhan in power. In such circumstances, it proved impossible to keep up for long the regime which distinguished the empire of the Qara-Khitay from the other nomad states, and which reflected the influence of the Chinese civilisation undergone by the Liao in their original home. Juvayni stresses the oppression of the Qara-Khitay tax-collectors "contrary to their former practice"; the arrogance of the gurkhan's envoys offended the vassal nobles, and generally speaking the domination of infidels shocked the feelings of the Muslims who possibly formed the majority of the empire's population. It is difficult to say to what religious creed the gurkhans belonged, and whether the first gurkhan was actually a Manichaean, as Ibn al-Athīr asserts, or a Christian, as suggested by Oppert and Zarnke, who identify him with the "Prester John" of mediaeval European legends. There are no reliable data to support the latter supposition; even the statements of fifteenth century compilators that the daughter of the last gurkhan was a Christian are not confirmed by earlier sources. Islam suffered no persecutions, and Muslim authors extol the equity of the first gurkhans and their respect for Islam. Islam was only forced out of its dominant position to take its place alongside the other cults, which, for their part, took advantage of the new freedom to increase the number of their adherents. The Nestorian Patriarch Elias III (1176-1190) founded a metropoly in Kashghar. The local metropolitan bore the title of "Metropolitan of Kashghar and Navākat", which shows that the see of Kashghar controlled also the southern part

[1] *ZVO*, VIII, 27. [*Fu-ma "son-in-law"? V. M.]

of the Semirechyé. The oldest Nestorian tombs in the Toqmaq and Pishpek cemeteries go back to the epoch of Qara-Khitay domination [1]. The Christian successes may have stirred up the religious fervour of the Muslims, which, in conjunction with the internal political conditions, provoked one of the most important Muslim movements in the history of Central Asia.

From the outset the gurkhan seems to have realised the danger and scope of this movement. It began with the revolt of the ruler of Khotan. The gurkhan immediately grew suspicious of his nearest Muslim vassal, Arslan-khan Qarluq, and requested him to send an auxiliary force. This move was intended to force him either to join openly in the revolt, or to taken part in the war against the Muslims. In the latter case, the gurkhan hoped to get rid of his dangerous vassal under some pretext. The khan complied with his sovereign's demand. He had a friend among the Qara-Khitay nobles, one Shamur-*Tayangu, who warned him of the gurkhan's intentions, adding that if they came true, the gurkhan would exterminate the whole of his family; therefore, if he held dear the future of his descendants, he should forestall the gurkhan and take poison, thus making it possible for his son to inherit his throne. Seeing no alternative, Arslan-khan followed this advice, and Shamur-Tayangu actually succeeded in putting on the throne Arslan-khan's son, who was sent back to Qayaliq together with the gurkhan's representative [2].

The Qara-Khitay government was at first completely successful in checking its rebellious Muslim vassals. The situation altered only when the eastern borders of the empire were invaded by bands of nomads ousted by Chingiz-khan from Mongolia. They were headed by Küchlük, son of the last of the khans of the NAYMAN, the most powerful Western-Mongolian tribe. According to one report, Küchlük, on his arrival in the Semirechyé (towards 1209), voluntarily gave himself up to the gurkhan. According to another report [3], he was taken prisoner by the

[1] *ZVO*, VIII, 26, 29.

[2] As far as we know this typical anecdote in Juvayni [*GMS*, I, 56] has never yet been quoted by European scholars.

[3] Both traditions are quoted by Juvayni.

Qara-Khitay troops but succeeded in winning the gurkhan's favour. The latter gave him permission to gather the scattered forces of his tribe, and Küchlük took advantage of this favour to revolt against his benefactor. No credit can be attached to Juvayni's report about a treaty between Küchlük and the Khwarazmshah Muhammad, the most powerful among the rebel Muslim rulers: by virtue of this agreement Turkestan, the territory of Qulja and the Semirechyé were to go to whichever of them would first defeat the gurkhan. The historian Nasawi [1], who was thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of the Khwarazmian court and had had personal contact with one of Muhammad's envoys to Küchlük, says only that Küchlük concluded an alliance with Mamdu-khan Qarluq, son of Arslan-khan [2], i.e. that he was aided by the Muslim rebels in the Semirechyé. Küchlük looted the gurkhan's treasure which was stored at Uzgand. At the same time (in 1210) the Khwarazmshah, in alliance with Othman, khan of Samarqand, fell upon the Qara-Khitay army on the plain of Ilamish near Talas. The outcome of the battle was indecisive, but as the Qara-Khitay commander-in-chief Tayangu-Taraz was taken prisoner, his army was compelled to retreat. The inhabitants of Balasaghun, fired by the success of Muslim arms, which rumour had exaggerated, and confident of the prompt arrival of the Khwarazmshah, closed the gates of the town before the Qara-Khitay. Mahmud-bay, a rich Muslim in the gurkhan's service, tried to persuade them to surrender, but in vain. After a sixteen days' siege the town was taken and plundered for three days, while forty seven thousand Muslims lost their lives. Thus the Khwarazmshah frustrated the hopes of the Semirechyé Muslims, doing no more than establish himself in Mawarannahr. Küchlük too was defeated by the Qara-Khitay near Balasaghun. The gurkhan's treasure was now in the hands of the Qara-Khitay army, and when the gurkhan demanded

[1] Nasawi's work was published in Arabic (*Publication de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes,* IIIe série, vol. IX, Paris 1891) and translated into French, *ibid.,* vol. X, Paris 1895, by the French Orientalist Houdas. [Text, p. 7, translation, p. 12].

[2] Nasawi, transl., pp. 12-13.

its restitution, the army revolted. Küchlük seized this opportunity to set himself at the head of the mutinous army and the gurkhan, abandoned by all, had to surrender to his enemy. Küchlük treated him with outward respect and allowed him to remain on the throne till his death, which occurred two years later. Meanwhile, the actual power was exercised by Küchlük himself.

All these events must have taken place in 1212. Somewhat earlier, in 1211, a Mongol detachment under the command of Khubilay-noyon, one of Chingiz-khan's generals, appeared in the northern part of the Semirechyé. Arslan-khan Qarluq (probably the son of the previously mentioned Arslan-khan and brother of Mamdu-khan) killed the Qara-Khitay governor of Qayalïq and proclaimed his loyalty to Chingiz-khan [1]. In the course of the Muslim movement a new state sprang up in the Qulja region. The Muslim Buzar [2], formerly a chief of robbers and horse-thieves, became so powerful that he seized ALMALÏQ, the principal town of the region, where he took the title of Tughrïl-khan. He too recognized Chingiz-khan's suzerainty.

The success of the Mongols in the West was retarded by the war with China which began in 1211 and diverted their forces. This allowed Küchlük to establish his power on the ruins of the empire of the gurkhans. First of all he had to deal with the Muslim movement which, as we have seen, he had exploited to his own ends. From the religious point of view, Küchlük's sway was as distasteful to the Muslims as that of the gurkhans. Like the majority of the Naymans, Küchlük had been a Nestorian Christian, but later he married a noble Qara-Khitay lady, who formerly had been betrothed to the gurkhan [3], and by her was converted to idolatry (i.e. probably to Buddhism). Moreover, the

[1] Rashïd al-dïn, transl. by Berezin, *Introduction* (in Russian), SPb. 1858, p. 132. *History of Chingiz-khan* (in Russian), *Trudï Vost. Otd. Arch. Obshch.*, part XV, p. 14. [On the Muslim movement see p. 106].

[2] Thus spelt by Jamāl Qarshi, who was closely associated with Buzar's descendants. Juvayni calls this khan Ozar, cf. *ZVO*, VIII, 28-29: the doubts concerning Ozar's being a Muslim are unfounded.

[3] Thus in Juvayni, [*GMS*, I, 48]. Jamāl Qarshi also calls Küchlük a Christian.

Khwarazmshah Muhammad, who led the Muslim movement, unjustly accused Küchlük of exploiting the Khwarazmian victories over the Qara-Khitay and of appropriating the spoils that should have gone to the Muslims. The embassies which the Khwarazmshah sent to Küchlük carried threats which, however, failed to materialise [1]. The Khwarazmshah had to leave to Küchlük the eastern part of the empire of the gurkhans and even to abandon his own possessions on the right bank of the Sïr-Darya [2], after devastating them so that they should not benefit his rival.

Still less could Muhammad prevent Küchlük from establishing his power in Eastern Turkestan. Küchlük undertook no regular campaigns in that region, but for three or four consecutive years he raided it at harvest time, and finally the ruined population submitted to him. In view of the stubborn resistance of the Muslims, the conqueror took drastic measures against Islam. He summoned the Muslims to become either Christians or Buddhists, or at least outwardly renounce their faith and adopt Chinese dress. The better to attain his ends he had recourse to a measure similar to Louis XIV's *dragonnades*: Küchlük's soldiers were quartered on the Muslims and given a free hand to deal with the disobedient. Muslim public prayers and instruction were completely discontinued.

On the north-eastern frontier Küchlük succeeded in capturing Buzar during a hunting expedition. Having killed his enemy, Küchlük laid siege to Almalïq, but his plans were frustrated by the approach of the Mongols, whose westward movement was resumed in 1217. In 1218 a Mongol force of 20,000 men was sent against Küchlük, under the command of Jebe-noyon. Küchlük's army raised the siege of Almalïq and retreated. Jebe set up in Almalïq Suqnaq-tegin, son of Buzar. On setting foot in Küchlük's dominions the Mongol general proclaimed complete freedom of worship. This was enough to make the Muslims rise against the oppressor of their faith. Küchlük made a stand against the Mongols in a mountain pass in the Semirechyé, but was defeated

[1] Nasawi, transl., pp. 13-15, and Ibn al-Athīr, XII, 179, speak of these embassies.

[2] With the exception of some forts.

and fled to Kashgharia [1]. Balāsāghūn was occupied by the Mongols, apparently without any resistance, for they called the town *Gobaliq* "good town", a name reserved by them to towns which surrendered voluntarily [2]. In Kashgharia the Muslims massacred Küchlük's soldiers, who were quartered on them, and welcomed the Mongols as liberators. Thanks to the exceptional discipline of the Mongol army, the peaceful population suffered no harm. Küchlük fled to Sarīkol where he was overtaken by the Mongols and killed [3].

## THE MONGOLS, DOWN TO THE END OF THE CHAGHATAY KINGDOM [4]

We have seen that the Semirechyé, together with Eastern Turkestan, had voluntarily surrendered to the Mongols. Therefore, in contrast to China, Mawarannahr and Western Asia, it

[1] On this battle see Oppert, *o.c.*, p. 160 (founded on Plano Carpini).

[2] Cf. *ZVO*, VIII, 29-30. [Quz-baliq, or Ghuz-baliq?].

[3] In his report on these events Juvayni quotes the evidence of inhabitants of Kashgharia. Jamāl Qarshi also speaks of Küchlük's flight to Sarikol. [Juvayni, I, 50, says that Küchlük was killed in Badakhshan. The name of Sarīkol is not in Jamāl, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, texts, p. 136.]

[4] The principal sources on the history of the Mongols are enumerated in the Preface to my *Report*. The best book on the subject remains d'Ohsson's work (see above p. 100). D'Ohsson deals mainly with the history of China and Persia and says little of the Central Asian Mongols. The latter are just as briefly mentioned in later works. Juvayni's chapter on Chaghatay and his successors has been published in the original and in French translation by Defrémery, *Journal Asiatique*, IVe série, t. XX. As for the contemporary Central Asian historical literature of that period, we possess, besides the already quoted work by Jamāl Qarshi (*v.s.*, p. 93), several extracts reproduced by fifteenth century authors, namely in the Introduction to Timur's history by Sharaf al-dīn Yazdī (omitted both in the French translation by Pétis de la Croix, and in the Calcutta edition of 1887-8), in the genealogical history of the Mongols, *Muʿizz al-ansāb*, composed anonymously in 1426 (I have used the Paris MS., Ancien Fonds Persan 67), in the work by Mūsawi, written in Persia towards 1414 (the MSS. are in London and Oxford; I have used a third MS. which was temporarily in the Asiatic Museum) and in the *History of the Four Ulus* by Ulugh-beg. This last work has come down to us only in its later abridged form, translated into English by Miles, *The Shajrat* [sic] *al-Atrāk*, London 1838. [In more detail, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 37-56.]

did not suffer from the Mongol invasion. Travellers [1] who visited the Semirechyé in the years following the coming of the Mongols, describe it as flourishing. One of these travellers was the Chinese minister YEH-LÜ CH'U-TS'AI who accompanied Chingiz-khan in 1219 on his western campaign. He mentions Almalïq with its dependencies consisting of eight or nine other towns. Fruit was plentiful everywhere; the inhabitants, like the Chinese, cultivated all five kinds of cereals. To the west of the Ili, on the road to Talas lay the capital of the Western Liao, the Hosun-ordu, under which were scores of other towns.

In 1220 WU-KU-SUN travelled to the West, as the Jürchen emperor's ambassador to Chingiz-khan. He reports that by that time there remained but few Qara-Khitays, and even these had adopted the dress and customs of the *Hui-ho*. The Chinese applied this latter term sometimes to the Muslims, and sometimes to the Turks, especially the Uyghurs. Wu-ku-sun uses it probably in the former sense, for Islam found itself strengthened in the circumstances which accompanied the Mongol conquest. The Muslims of the Semirechyé were much more warlike than the other [2] representatives of local culture. Wu-ku-sun contrasts the greed and cruelty of the Muslim Hui-ho with the manners and customs of the Hui-ho who lived on the Ili. According to him, the latter were weak and gentle by nature, avoided taking life and strictly observed the fasts.

In 1221 Chingiz-khan invited the Chinese hermit CH'ANG-CH'UN, of the Tao sect, to come to Western Asia. Having crossed Uyghuria Ch'ang Ch'un arrived in the Qulja region. In Almalïq a representative of the Mongol power (*darughachi*) ruled alongside the local ruler. The peasants irrigated their fields by means of canals; "but the only method employed by the people for drawing water was to dip a pitcher and carry it on the head" [3]. Ch'ang Ch'un crossed the river Ili on 17 October in a

[1] On these travellers see Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from Eastern Asiatic sources,* London 1888, I, 9-108, and *Memoirs [Trudï] by members of the Russian religious mission in Peking* (in Russian), t. IV.

[2] Probably Christians.

[3] [A. Waley, *The travels of an alchemist,* 1931, 86.]

boat, at a distance of four days journey from Almalïq (probably not far from the mouth of the Charïn). To the North of the mountains (Bogutï) and to the South of the river there was a small town. Here snow fell twelve inches deep, but it melted after the sun had risen. On 1 November the river Chu was crossed by a wooden bridge and the foot of the Alexandrovsky range was reached. In the country between the Chu and Talas, where the residence of the Western Liao had stood, the inhabitants, in addition to agriculture, were engaged in sericulture and vine-growing. The fruit grown there was the same as in China. Water was conveyed to the fields by means of channels. On his way back in 1223, Chaᶜng Chᶜun crossed the Ili at a distance of only 100 li (about 30 miles) from Almalïq. When he reached this town he was invited to Chaghatay's ordu, but did not accept the invitation, being in a hurry to return to his own country.

Chᶜang Chᶜun's report shows that Chingiz-khan's sons had been allotted separate fiefs in their father's lifetime. The nomads looked upon the empire as the property of the whole of the khan's family, and each member had the right to a share in it. Therefore, Chingiz-khan gave each of his three eldest sons a separate appanage (*injü*) comprising a certain number of nomad hordes (*ulus*), bound to provide military detachments, and tracts of land (*yurt*) sufficient for their upkeep. The boundaries of the yurts were only vaguely defined. The first to receive his fief was the eldest son Juchi, to whom his father gave in 1207 the so-called "forest peoples" from the lower course of the Selenga up to the Irtish [1]. According to Rashid al-din the main *ordu* (camp) stood on the banks of the Irtish. Probably as a matter of custom, Chingiz-khan alloted to his eldest son the most distant part of his possessions, and he added to it by anticipation all the lands which would be conquered in the West. At the time of Chingiz-khan's death Juchi's yurt comprised the northern part of the Semirechye, all the present day Qirghiz [read: *Qazakh*] steppes, Khwarazm and even Mazandaran. Chaghatay's yurt stretched from Uyghuria to Samarqand and Bukhara, and from

[1] *Memoirs* [*Trudi*] *of the Peking Mission*, IV, 132. [See above, p. 45].

the southern Altai to the Amu-Darya. Ögedey's main ordu stood in Tarbaghatay, on the banks of the Emil and the Qobuq; the boundaries of his yurt are not indicated [1]. Tuluy (Tuli), the youngest son, received no fief, for, according to the law of the steppe, he was the heir to his father's original yurt. Each of the three elder sons received 4,000 men of the regular Mongol troops. Moreover, they naturally had at their disposal considerable forces drawn from among the conquered peoples.

Thus, despite the vastness of the empire, the camps of Chingiz-khan's three eldest sons stood at first very close together. This is a sufficient illustration of the fact that in those days the fiefs were not the semi-independent states which they came to be later on. The lands allotted to individual members of the khan's family were only meant to serve as a source of income and remained subjected to the head of the empire. When cultivated lands were conquered, their revenue was not appropriated (*injü*) by any one prince, but was divided among them all [2]. The artisans of the conquered towns were also treated as a similar source of revenue: they were handed over to the princes who settled them where they wished and assigned special jobs to them [3]. The princes were forbidden to interfere with tax-collecting which was the task of the lieutenants whom the head of the empire put in charge of the sedentary population. Certainly, this organisation could not continue for any length of time, for the authority of the Great Khan's governors in outlying countries could not compete with the might of the local princes resting on military strength. Gradually the princes consolidated the power in their hands, and the empire broke up into several independent states.

During the reign of Chingiz-khan's successor ÖGEDEY (1229-1241), the unity of the empire was still intact, and the principle of

[1] The most detailed description of the division of the empire into fiefs is found in Juvayni [*GMS*, I, 31].

[2] A typical example is to be found in Iakinf, *History of the first four khans of the house of Chingiz* (in Russian), SPb. 1829, p. 260.

[3] Cf. the report of Rubruquis on the German armourers belonging to prince Büri and settled by him in Talas. Later, after Büri's execution the Great Khan Mönke transferred them to the town of Pūlād, in the Borotal valley, see Schmidt, *Ueber Rubruks Reise*, pp. 34, 40.

the joint domination of the family was maintained with the greatest consistency. When measures affecting the interests of the empire as a whole had to be worked out, the head of every ulus appointed his delegate. On military campaigns, a prince was delegated by each ulus. After the conquest of new regions, delegates of the prince were attached to the governor appointed by the Great Khan. Here we cannot go into the detail of the regulations, published with the assent of the members of the khan's family [1], bearing chiefly on the establishing of the rates of assessment, the organisation of mail-services for the use of ambassadors and couriers, and the irrigation of waterless steppes (by means of wells) to increase the grazing area.

JUCHI's possessions were naturally the least closely linked with the empire. Juchi himself had manifested tendencies towards independence and his death alone prevented open war between him and his father. As already mentioned, Juchi's possessions included part of the Semirechyé. In 1246, when Plano Carpini visited this country, the camp (*ordu*) of Juchi's eldest son Orda still stood near Lake Alā-kul. The camp of his brother Shïban was further West, in the former Qara-Khitay country, perhaps also in the Semirechyé [2].

Chingiz-khan's second son CHAGHATAY enjoyed a great authority in the whole empire, as the senior member of the family and as the guardian of the *yasa* (Mongol common law), a dignity to which he had been appointed by Chingiz-khan himself. His summer residence was Quyash (lit. "the sun") in the valley of the Ili river, near the high mountain Kök neighbouring on Almalïq. In winter he lived in Maraurik (or Marauzik)-Ïlā, also probably on the Ili. Near Quyash Chaghatay built the village which he called Qutlugh ("the happy one") [3]. From Ch'ang Ch'un's report we know that Chaghatay's ordu was on the southern bank of the Ili. The ordu of his successor, which

[1] Cf. D'Ohsson, II, 63, and *Memoirs of the Peking Missston*, IV, 158-9.

[2] *Collection of travels among the Tatars* (in Russian), SPb. 1825. The editor, D. Yazïkov, mistook the lake mentioned by Plano Carpini for Baykal.

[3] Cf. *Report*, p. 66.

Juvayni calls Ulugh-Īf ("the lofty house"?), stood probably at the same place. Jamāl Qarshi calls the region which formed the nucleus of Chaghatay's possessions Il-Alarghu [1]. The principal town was Almalïq.

The *yasa* gave often cause to frictions between Chaghatay and the Muslim population of Central Asia. Like all Shamanists, the Mongols were very tolerant in matters of religion and respected equally the clergy of all denominations. The latter, with the exception of rabbis, were exempted from taxes and various services. The fact that it proved impossible to preserve religious peace, founded upon a perfect equality of all the creeds professed within the empire, was due to the rivalry between the representatives of different religions, who, in their mutual hostility, tried to win over the Mongol khans by casting aspersions on their rivals. With a few exceptions only the Muslims (principally the Tajiks) and the Uyghurs, among the representatives of the civilised nations, took part in the administration outside their own countries and exerted some influence over the khans. The Uyghurs, who were partly Christians and partly Buddhists, were the fiercest enemies of the Muslims [2]. Religious antagonism and political rivalry between the different religious and cultural communities were particularly violent in Central Asia where the parties were practically of equal strength. At that time Islam was not the paramount religion in the country to the East of the Qulja region [3]. Moreover, many non-Muslims lived in the Muslim provinces, including also the Semirechyé. The cemeteries of Pishpek and Toqmaq bear witness to the existence of Nestorian villages in the Chu valley. In the northern part of the Semirechyé, at a distance of 3 French leagues (8 miles) to the north of Qayalïq, Rubruquis visited in 1253 a village in which all the inhabitants were Nestorians who had a church of their own [4]. Finally, in the fourteenth century there still existed on the shores of the Issik-kul, in the village of the

[1] The adjective *Il-Alarghavī* is also sometimes used.
[2] Cf. Radloff, *On the question of the Uyghurs* (in Russian), p. 61.
[3] Cf. *Memoirs of the Peking Mission,* IV, 303.
[4] *Ueber Rubruks Reise,* p. 45.

same name, an Armenian monastery where, according to tradition, the relics of the Apostle Matthew were preserved [1].

Chaghatay protected the Christians. Marco Polo [2] even quotes a legend according to which Chaghatay had himself become a Christian. On the other hand, the Muslims aroused his displeasure because some of the commandments of the Sharīᶜat were incompatible with the laws of the *yasa*. Thus the prohibition for Mongols to enter running water hindered Muslim ablutions. Similarly Mongol law forbade the slaughter of animals by cutting the throat. For this reason, Muslim authors ascribe to Chaghatay a great hate for Islam and the Muslims. In a poem on Chaghatay's death [3] it is said: "He, for fear of whom none dared enter the water, was drowned in the vast ocean (of death)". A contemporary [4] asserts that under Chaghatay none dared pronounce the name of a Muslim without accompanying it with some invective. According to another later author [5], Chaghatay gave a *balish* of gold (i.e. 500 dinars, about £ 200) to whoever brought him the news of the execution of a Muslim. It was on Chaghatay's orders that the famous Muslim scholar Abū Yaᶜqūb Sakkākī was put to death in 626/1229 [6].

We know, however, that there were Muslims among Chaghatay's closest intimates. The most influential of these was Qutb al-din Ḥabash-ᶜAmīd, who probably belonged to that class of wealthy Muslim merchants which played an important part in the Mongol empire. The historian Waṣṣāf extols his great wealth. Even members of ruling dynasties contracted family ties with him [7]. According to Juvayni, the Mongols themselves gave him in

[1] *Report,* p. 60.

[2] Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* London 1875, I, 191. *Marco Polo* (in Russian), SPb. 1873, p. 48.

[3] Quoted in Juvayni.

[4] Jūzjānī (Raverty, *Tabakāt-i Nāsiri,* p. 1146).

[5] Isfizārī, author of the history of Herat written in the fifteenth century. I am using the MS. of the Asiatic Museum 574 agh.

[6] His tomb on the banks of the Tekes could still be seen in the sixteenth century. Cf. *Report,* pp. 71-72. The date of his death is given in Jamāl Qarshi.

[7] Qutb al-dīn of Kirman gave his sister in marriage to him, see Waṣṣāf.

marriage the daughter of the Khwarazmshah Muhammad, whose other daughter was married to Chaghatay. The Muslim clergy were dissatisfied with Ḥabash-ᶜAmīd's government. The famous sūfī Sayf al-din Bākharzī, in a letter in verse addressed to the powerful minister [1] openly disapproved of the preference shown to inexperienced youths over old men famed for their learning and sanctity of life, and in general of the interference of the secular power in the affairs of the clergy: "when the palace becomes the *minbar* (the imam's pulpit), it is better there were no *minbars* at all".

Towards the end of Chaghatay's reign a certain Chinese became prominent at his court. He had started in the service of Chaghatay's Chinese physician, and later had worked as a shepherd for the Mongol dignitary Khoshuq-noyon. While in his service he had the occasion to demonstrate his thorough knowledge of Chingiz-khan's campaigns of which he had made a detailed record. Chaghatay, who greatly valued this kind of knowledge, attached him to his court. Noting his importance at Chaghatay's court, Ögedey gave him the name of Vazīr. Vazīr was short of stature and ill-favoured but possessed of exceptional courage, intelligence and eloquence. He was the most outspoken man in the council. On one occasion he shouted at Chaghatay's wife: "you are a woman; you have no say in this business". Another time he, on his own initiative, put to death Chaghatay's sister-in-law. To his master's reproaches he replied: "Should your sister-in-law be allowed to behave unworthily and disgrace the khan's wives?" and Chaghatay had to yield to this argument. The views of his contemporaries on his government are echoed in the words which he is supposed to have said to Chaghatay: "for your sake I have kept not a single friend, and when you are gone none will take pity on me" [2].

Ögedey died in December 1241, and Chaghatay survived him

[1] It is quoted in the anthology *Butkhāna,* a copy of which is in the Bodleian Library (Cod. Elliot 32). [This text and the others quoted in the present survey have been published in Barthold, *Turkestan,* texts (Russian edition)].

[2] Rashid al-dīn. [Ed. Blochet, 193-7].

only by a few months [1]. Ögedey was far too much addicted to pleasure, but he was generous and humane, and knew how to mitigate his brother's rigid sternness and how to thwart the intrigues of the dignitaries seeking to ruin one another. His successors were completely overwhelmed by these intrigues. A series of abominable trials and executions began which made "going to the ordu" equivalent to going to a painful death. One cannot lay the blame for these horrors at the door of the barbarian Mongols. Historical evidence shows [2] that nearly all these trials were provoked by the intrigues of representatives of cultured nations. Often the Mongols only delivered the condemned man to his accusers, in which case he fared no better than those whom the Mongols tortured to death themselves.

With Ögedey's consent Chaghatay had appointed his grandson KHARA-HULAGU to be his successor and Chaghatay's wife Yesülün and Ḥabash-ᶜAmīd proclaimed this prince head of the Chaghatay ulus. Thus Ḥabash-ᶜAmīd retained his important position during the new reign which began with the execution of the physicians who had unsuccessfully treated Chaghatay, namely Vazīr and the Muslim Majd al-din. The Uyghur Kürküz, a Buddhist, who for a long time had governed the Mongol possessions in Persia, was also executed in Khara-Hulagu's ordu for speaking disrespectfully of the queen Yesülün.

The throne of the Great Khan (*qaan*) remained vacant till 1246 when the *quriltay* (the diet of Princes) was assembled, at which Ögedey's eldest son GÜYÜK was proclaimed qaan. During the short reign of Güyük (1246-1248) who had received a Christian education and was as hostile to Islam as Chaghatay, the Christian had the upper hand throughout the empire. On Güyük's orders, Khara-Hulagu was deposed in the Chaghatay ulus and YESÜ-MÖNKE, son of Chaghatay and a personal friend of the qaan, was set upon the throne. According to Rashid al-din, Yesü-Mönke was so addicted to drink that he was unable to attend to

[1] According to Jamāl Qarshi he died in 642/1244-5.

[2] Similar conclusions with regard to Mongol domination in Russia were arrived at by S. M. Solovyev, *History of Russia,* ed. *Obshch. Polza,* book I, p. 833.

the affairs of his own ordu, let alone the administration of the state. The accession of the new khan brought about the fall of Habash-Amid, and all affairs were now run by Yesü-Mönke's wife, Tugashi.

During Chaghatay's lifetime, Habash-Amid had attached a son of his to each of the khan's sons with the evident intention to secure the power for himself and his family. To Yesü-Mönke he had attached his adopted son Bahā al-din Marghinānī, whose father was the hereditary Shaykh al-Islam of Farghāna and whose mother descended from the Qarakhanids. Yesü-Mönke, who hated Habash-Amid as Khara-Hulagu's adherent, appointed Bahā al-din in his stead. The latter accepted the appointment but did his best to mitigate the khan's animosity towards Habash-Amid and saved his life. Juvayni who personally met Bahā al-din says that he united in his person both secular and spiritual knowledge, that his house was the centre of all the outstanding scholars who had survived, and that in his time Muslim scolarship recovered its importance [1].

BATU, Juchi's son and successor in the ulus, declined to swear allegiance to Güyük. In the spring of 1248, Güyük set out against him with a large army. To conceal his real intention the qaan gave out that he was proceeding to his native ordu on the banks of the Emil to restore his shattered health. Warned of Güyük's real intentions Batu in his turn set out towards the East with a numerous army, but on reaching Ala-qamāq, at seven days' distance from Qayalïq [2] he received the news of the qaan's death. Batu halted in Ala-qamāq, and as the senior member of the family, summoned all the other princes to discuss the question of succession. All agreed to abide by Batu's decision, and his choice fell upon MÖNKE, the eldest son of Tuluy. This provoked energetic protests from Ögedey's grandsons who considered themselves cheated of their rights. The majority of the Chaghatay princes, including Yesü-Mönke, sided with them. Only in 1251 was a quriltay assembled in Qaraqorum where Mönke's accession was solemnly celebrated. Ögedey's descendants with their ad-

[1] Cf. Defrémery, *o.c.*, in *Journal Asiatique*, pp. 401-405. [Juvayni, I, 232].
[2] In the southern part of the Semirechyé, near the Ala-tau mountains.

herents arrived at the quriltay fully armed, intending to raise a revolt in their favour. Their conspiracy was discovered; the guilty men were arrested without resistance, and seventy-seven dignitaries were executed. The princes were sent to remote provinces where some of them were later secretly put to death. Yesü was still in his ordu. Emissaries from the qaan presented him with the demand that he, if not a party to the conspiracy, should appear in the qaan's camp and take the oath of allegiance. According to Jamāl Qarshi, Khara-Hulagu, who from the outset had sided with Mönke, brought his influence to bear on his brother Büri, who commanded the army of the Chaghatay ulus, to visit Mönke. When Tughashi and Büri arrived in the latter's camp, they were immediately arrested. Tughashi was delivered to Khara-Hulagu who, in the presence of her husband, tried her and condemned her to be trampled to death by horses. Yesü and Büri were sent to Batu's ordu, and Batu executed his old enemy Büri, but let Yesü go. Later Yesü fell victim to the vengeance of *Orqïna, the widow of Khara-Hulagu [1]. Mönke restored the latter in the Chaghatay ulus, but he died on the way back. The fall of Yesü-Mönke brought about the reinstatement of Habash-Amid. Khara-Hulagu delivered to him Bahā al-din with his whole family and property, and Habash-Amid barbarously executed his rival.

To complete the destruction of his enemies, Mönke sent a numerous army to the West to occupy the region between Qara-qorum and Bishbalïq and to establish a link with the forces of the Juchids, which had taken up position between Qayalïq and Otrar, under the command of Qung-qïran (or Qung-quran), son and successor of Orda. All the military chiefs of the Chaghatay ulus suspected of sympathising with the conspirators were put to death.

Thus the unity of the empire was preserved at the price of destroying two of the uluses, and to the domination of the khan's family as a whole, as it had been under Ögedey, a diarchy was substituted. Batu, as the senior member of the family and the

[1] Such details of these events as are not mentioned by d'Ohsson, II, 257-271, have been taken from Juvayni [II, 229-32].

principal author of Mönke's accession, enjoyed an equal importance with the qaan. Mönke himself said to Rubruquis: "as the sun spreads its rays everywhere, so mine and Batu's power spreads over all countries" [1]. To describe the complete understanding between himself and Batu, the qaan used the following comparison: "there are two eyes in one head, but though they are two, their sight is one, and whither one of them directs its gaze, the other does the same" [2]. The boundary between the "spheres of influence" of the qaan and Batu passed somewhat to the east of Talas. Rubruquis gathered the impression that there was less respect shown to the qaan's representatives in Batu's possession, than *vice versa* [3]. The Semirechyé was included in the qaan's sphere and the immediate administration of the Chaghatay ulus was confided to Khara-Hulagu's widow ORQÏNA [4], under whom Habash-Amid and his son Nasir al-din became pre-eminent. According to Wassaf [5], Orqïna was a Buddhist, though she accorded every protection to Islam; on the other hand Jamāl Qarshi calls her a Muslim. In 1254 she entertained in Almalïq the qaan's brother Hulagu who had been sent with an army to conquer Western Asia. Hulagu's army slowly crossed the Semirechyé and only in the autumn of 1255 reached Samarqand.

RUBRUQUIS, who passed through the Semirechyé in November 1253, gives some information on the state of that country in Mönke's reign [6]. After crossing the Ili he saw a ruined fort with clay walls. Near the ruins were ploughed fields. A little further on there was an important town to which Rubruquis gives the Latin name of Equius [**Iki-öküz* "two rivers"] and which was inhabited by Persian-speaking Muslims. It was probably identical with Ilibalïq often mentioned in Chinese sources. The Armenian king Haython who visited the town in the beginning of 1255 calls

[1] *Recueil de voyages,* publié par la Société de Géographie, Paris 1839, IV, 307.
[2] *Ibid.,* IV, 361.
[3] *Ueber Rubruks Reise,* p. 41.
[4] [Barthold spells: *Ergene*(?). V. M.].
[5] Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte Wassafs,* Band I, Wien 1856, p. 30.
[6] *Ueber Rubruks Reise,* pp. 42-45.

it Ilan-balekh [1]. On the next day, after crossing a small mountain range Rubruquis entered a magnificent valley, watered by numerous rivers, which flowed out of the mountains and emptied into Lake Balkhash. Here stood the large town of Cailac (Qayalïq) where lived many merchants. Formerly there had been many towns in this valley but by that time most of them had been destroyed by the Tatars attracted by the excellent grazing grounds.

Rubruquis's report bears witness to a certain decadence of agriculture and to the conversion of ploughed land into pastures. The fact that the Mongol nomads occupied northern Semirechyé is confirmed by Juvayni who states that qaan Mönke gave to the son of Arslan-khan Qarluq Uzgand (and not Qayalïq which was the original home of this family).

The part of the Semirechyé between the Ili and the Chu is described by the Chinese CHANG-TÊ who passed through this region in 1259 as the qaan's ambassador to Hulagu. This region which he calls I-tu, had a numerous population, but one could see in it many remains of earth ramparts and other ruins [2]. This again points to the process which gradually led to the disappearance of agriculture in the Semirechyé. The main explanation of this phenomenon lies in the excellence of the pastures which had always attracted the nomads to the Semirechyé. The cultivation of the land was resumed only in the nineteenth century by Sart and Russian colonists.

Mönke died in 1259 during his campaign against China. His two brothers sought his succession and in 1260, for the first time in the history of the Mongol empire, both candidates were simultaneously proclaimed qaan: the army stationed in China swore allegiance to KHUBILAY, while the younger brother, ARÏQ-BÖGE proclaimed himself qaan in Qaraqorum. Orqïna, head of the Chaghatay ulus, sided with Arïq-böge. To stir up a revolt in his own favour, Khubilay sent prince Abishqa, son of Büri, into the Chaghatay possessions, but on the way there the prince was captured and killed by Arïq-böge's partisans. Taking a leaf out

[1] *Report*, p. 70.

[2] Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, I, 129.

of his brother's book, Arïq-böge too sent to the west Alghuy, a grandson of Chaghatay and son of Baydar. According to Rashid al-din, Alghuy's mission was to organise the supply of corn from Turkestan to Mongolia, for Khubilay had cut off the supplies from China and the capital was beginning to feel the pinch.

ALGHUY acted in Turkestan with great energy, but not in Arïq-böge's interests. He won over to his side the members of the Chaghatay clan and their adherents. Sulayman-beg, son of Habash-Amid, entered his service [1]. Orqïna withdrew to join ARÏQ-BÖGE. Alghuy expelled the Juchid governors from the western part of the Chaghatay possessions and spread his sway even over regions which had never been under the house of Chaghatays, as for instance Khwarazm and northern Afghanistan. Soon he was in open war with Arïq-böge, who after having been ousted from Mongolia by Khubilay's army, had retreated to the banks of the Yenisey. Khubilay's further successes were held up by disturbances in China, and thus Arïq-böge was able to turn against Alghuy. In 1262 Alghuy defeated Arïq-böge's vanguard near Lake Sayram, but in the spring of 1263 he himself was defeated in the Ili valley and sought safety in Eastern Turkestan. Arïq-böge's army went into winter quarters in the Qulja region. The Semirechyé too must have been occupied, for Orqïna who had accompanied Arïq-böge was able to spend the summer of 1263 in the mountains near Atbash [2].

Arïq-böge's troops seized so much corn in the fertile Ili valley that throughout the winter the horses were fed on it. Such pillage caused a terrible famine in the country, and in the long run proved disastrous to the army, for in the spring of 1264 the horses, accustomed to corn, sickened and died from green fodder. In these circumstances Arïq-böge was abandoned by most of his generals who disliked him for his cruelty. On learning that Alghuy was marching against him, Arïq-böge left to make submission to Khubilay, and in the meantime sent Orqïna to Alghuy whom she finally agreed to marry.

[1] Jamāl Qarshi says that Habash-Amid died in 1260, at the very beginning of Alghuy's reign.

[2] *Report*, p. 45.

Khubilay was recognised as qaan of the whole empire, but only in name. HULAGU in Persia, ALGHUY in Central Asia and BERKE (Batu's brother) in the Juchid possessions, were practically independent rulers. The first two were at war with Berke, while the latter had an ally in Central Asia in the person of Khaydu, Ügedey's grandson.

Judging by the result of his activities, and by what the Muslim authors have to say about his personality, KHAYDU must have been one of the most remarkable Mongol rulers, but unfortunately our information on his life and reign is scanty. According to Jamāl Qarshi, he was born about 1235. His father Khashi died from excessive drinking in his youth, even before the birth of his son who was brought up in the qaan's ordu. On his mother's side he was descended from the Bekrin (Mekrin), a tribe of mountaineers of unknown origin. Rashid al-din [1] says of the Bekrin that they were "neither Mongols, nor Uyghurs". In outward appearance Khaydu was a true Mongol: Rashid al-din avers that there were only nine hairs in his beard.

During the troubled years between 1260 and 1264, Khaydu was with Arïq-böge's army. When the latter joined Khubilay, Khaydu did not follow suit but remained in Central Asia. In his opinion he had a better claim to the throne than Khubilay, on the strength of the Mongol legend according to which Chingiz-khan had enjoined his descendants to allow no one else to mount the throne, so long as a descendant of Ögedey was still alive. Khaydu had none of his grandfather's military forces at his disposal [2] and had to create one out of nothing. In this he succeeded so well that the courage and discipline of his army become proverbial [3]. In addition to his military genius, Khaydu was an able administrator and quick at taking the best advantage of circumstances. He did not sacrifice to the army the interests of the population whose prosperity reached a high standard during his reign. It is noteworthy that this son and grandson of drunkards was perhaps the only Chingizid who never touched wine or koumiss ("mare's milk fermented").

[1] Transl. by Berezin, *Introduction*, p. 129. [Text, p. 166].
[2] *Ibid.*, *History of Chingiz-khan*, II, 146.
[3] Hammer-Purgstall, Wassaf, p. 127.

Khaydu began by winning over his mother's tribe, the Bekrin, who were reputed as particularly useful in mountain warfare. Next he took advantage of the war between Alghuy and Berke to offer his services to the latter. Berke took counsel with his astrologers who foretold a great future for Khaydu. With the aid of the Juchids, Khaydu carved out a small fief for himself and defeated one of Alghuy's detachments. A large army was then sent against him and defeated him in the ensuing battle [1], but he was saved by Alghuy's death.

Alghuy died at the end of 1265, or the beginning of 1266, and in March 1266 [2], MUBĀRAK-SHAH, son of Khara-Hulagu and Orqïna, was proclaimed khan of the Chaghatays in Āhangarān [3]. He was the first of Chaghatay's descendants to become a Muslim. Thus for the first time a Mongol ruler ascended the throne without being nominated by the qaan. Khubilay could not assent to such issue and sent to Turkestan another Chaghatay prince, BORAQ, Mubārak-shah's first cousin. At first Boraq concealed the *yarlïq* which he had received from Khubilay, and appeared in Central Asia in the guise of one seeking refuge. He asked for permission to gather his people, and with Mubārak-shah's consent he and his brother betook themselves to their family yurt in the Surkhān valley. Boraq gradually won over the Mongol troops which were in constant conflict with the local population, with which Mubārak-shah had invariably sided. In September 1266 Mubārak-shah was defeated and taken prisoner near Khojand, after which Boraq [4] proclaimed himself khan in Uzgand and seized the treasure of Alghuy and *Orqïna. The qaan, realising that Boraq was no longer his obedient tool, sent an army against him but Boraq was equally successful in his operations against this force in Eastern Turkestan [5].

Khaydu took advantage of these troubles to seize the Semi-

[1] Mirkhond alone reports these events (I am using the Tehran lithographed edition).

[2] Thus according to Jamāl Qarshi. Both in Rashid al-din and Wassaf the chronology is confused and faulty.

[3] ["Angren", near Tashkent.]

[4] Hammer-Purgstall, Wassāf, p. 126. [Better: *Baraq*].

[5] Described by Rashid al-din.

rechyé and the eastern part of the Sïr-Darya province. He clashed with Boraq and protected the population from being pillaged by Boraq's soldiers acting with their master's consent. According to one report, quoted by Rashid al-din, in 1268 Khaydu defeated his rival on the Sïr-Darya with the help of Mangu-Timur, chief of the Juchids. He did not pursue Boraq but made him an offer to attend the quriltay in the following spring and settle the matter peacefully. In the spring of 1269 the first quriltay in Central Asia assembled on the banks of the Talas, and, under the leadership of Khaydu, an agreement was reached between the Central Asian Mongol rulers. Khaydu and Boraq hailed each other as *anda* — a term pointing to the closest friendship. Boraq's *yaylaq* and *qïshlaq* (summer and winter camping grounds) were strictly defined. In general the princes pledged themselves to live in the mountains and on the steppes, to keep their horses out of the cultivated fields, and not to exact from the population anything beyond the legal taxes and the revenues accruing from the craftsmen whom they owned [1].

In this way, a separate Mongol state came into being in Central Asia and special measures were taken to protect the population. There is no direct information as to the place where Khaydu resided, but the fact that he was buried between the Chu and the Ili suggests that his *ordu* stood in the Semirechyé. Muslim authors praise Khaydu's justice and the protection he gave to Islam. Wassāf [2] notes with astonishment that Khaydu, even though he possessed an excellent army, never undertook expeditions of conquest and contented himself with protecting his own possessions against the claims of the other three Mongol states. In this struggle he was successful, especially after he had restored order in his own dominions which had been suffering from the feuds among the Chaghatay princes. After the quriltay of 1269 Boraq did not mend his ways, but the disturbances which broke out after his death in 1271 were still more baneful for the population.

The first Chaghatay princes whom Khaydu set over their ulus

[1] Cf. d'Ohsson, III, 430-1.
[2] Wassāf, p. 128.

were unable to cope with the situation. Order was restored only after Khaydu's choice fell in 1282[1] on the gifted TUVA (or Duva), son of Boraq[2]. As long as Khaydu's reign lasted, Tuva remained his faithful ally and took part in his wars with the other Mongol states. The encounters with Khubilay's troops usually occurred in Mongolia. More important for the Semirechyé were the clashes with Juchi's *ulus,* principally with its eastern branch headed by Orda's great-grandson BAYAN. The khans of this so-called "White Horde" ("Blue", according to other sources) were entirely independent, and did not attend the quriltays of the khans of the Golden Horde, although nominally they recognised themselves as their vassals. Bayan's second cousin KÜYLÜK rebelled against him and expelled him with the aid of Khaydu and Tuva. Bayan sought the help of the head of the Juchids, TOKHTA (1290-1312). The latter could give him no active help as he was himself engaged in a war against the rebel general NOGHAY. He only gave Bayan a *yarlïq* for Orda's ulus and sent envoys to Khaydu and Tuva requesting them to surrender Küylük, which demand they rejected. In the fourteenth century Bayan was still at war with Küylük and the allied armies of Khaydu and Tuva. Down to the first years of the fourteenth century they had fought eighteen battles[3]. Towards the very end of the thirteenth century envoys arrived in China at the court of Khubilay's successor TIMUR-qaan, to propose of coalition against Khaydu and Tuva. It was suggested that armies should be moved against them simultaneously: by Tokhta and Bayan from the north-west, by Ghazan-khan, ruler of Persia, from the south-west, by the ruler of Badakhshan from the south-east and by the Chinese Emperor from the east. On his mother's advice, Timur gave the envoys an evasive answer[4].

[1] Thus according to Jamāl Qarshi (A.H. 681). This is confirmed by Rashid al-din and Wassāf (cf. d'Ohsson, III, 458) who say that Bukhara, ruined in A.H. 674, was restored *seven* years later.

[2] *Tuva,* according to the spelling in Wassāf and in a Mongol letter, on which cf. d'Ohsson, IV, 588.

[3] These events are reported by Rashid al-din in his survey of the Juchid genealogy. [Ed. Blochet, 96].

[4] Cf. d'Ohsson, II, 515. [Rashīd, ed. Blochet, p. 611].

Following the example of Chingiz, Khaydu formed separate military divisions under the command of his sons. In the last years of his life he entrusted to them the defence of the marches of his kingdom. URUS was in command on the Chinese frontier, BAY-KECHER on the border of the Juchid possessions, and SARBAN in Afghanistan, from whence the troops of Khaydu and Tuva had gradually dislodged the forces of the Hulagids. We know nothing on the activities during Khaydu's lifetime of his eldest son and successor Chapar. Khaydu's daughter, KHUTULUN-CHAGHA, lived in the Chu valley where at that time there were still many settlements [1]. After her father's death, she became the custodian of his tomb. This courageous and energetic young woman personally took part in her father's expeditions and did not wish to marry. Finally the rumour spread among the people that Khaydu's love for her was more than paternal and therefore he did not wish to give her away in marriage. Then Khaydu told her to choose herself a husband. Previously the princess had promised the Persian king Ghazan to marry no one but him, but now she gave her hand to her father's chief butler, a man of Chinese origin [2].

Reports on Khaydu's death are contradictory. According to Rashid al-din, news was received in Persia in the spring of 1303 that, a short time previously Khaydu's and Tuva's army had been defeated by the qaan's troops, and that Khaydu had been killed in battle and Tuva severely wounded, which left him an invalid. On the other hand, Jamāl Qarshi, the Central Asian contemporary of these events, says that Khaydu died in the autumn of 1301. Therefore the news from the eastern part of Central Asia must have taken a year and a half to reach Persia. This fact alone gives the measure of reliability of the details in Rashid al-din's story. Wassāf [3] gives a different version of Khaydu's death: it was Khaydu who defeated the qaan's army, but later he fell ill and entrusted to his son Urus the task of taking the

[1] *Report*, p. 37.

[2] Rashid al-din. [Ed. E. Blochet, p. 12, has only *shakhs-i Khitāʾī*: "a man from Northern China". V. M.]

[3] Cf. d'Ohsson, II, 516 sq. [Ed. Bombay, p. 450].

army to some quarters where it could find sufficient water and fodder for the horses. During this march Khaydu died. Tuva, Khaydu's chief companion at arms, was now in authority, and according to Wassāf Khaydu had enjoined Urus to obey him in all things. After having assembled the princes around Khaydu's coffin, Tuva persuaded them to recognise as their sovereign the absent CHAPAR, Khaydu's eldest son. Khaydu's body was taken to the family yurt and buried on the high mountain Shivliq, between the Chu and the Ili [1]. Chapar took the name of Khaydu. According to Jamāl Qarshi, his accession to the throne was solemnly celebrated in Emil in the spring of 1303. The delay was probably caused by the fact that an important faction, to which Khutulun belonged, wished to set Urus upon the throne. During the first years of the fourteenth century, rumours circulated in Persia to the effect that the dissensions between Khaydu's sons had degenerated into an armed struggle.

We know little of Chapar's personality. Rashid al-din says that in his outward appearance he resembled a Russian or a Cherkes. He seems to have been entirely under the influence of Tuva, whose vigorous action belies Rashid al-din's report about his supposed incurable infirmity. Jamāl Qarshi describes Tuva as the mainstay of Chapar's power. The situation in the kingdom, weakened by the disturbances following Khaydu's death, was much strained. Tokhta reiterated his demands for Küylük's extradition, and on meeting with a refusal, sent two *tumans* (20,000 men) to help BAYAN. In the beginning of February 1303, Bayan's envoys [2] came to Baghdad and explained that their master intended to move against Chapar and Tuva in the same year, in order to join up with the qaan's army. To prevent such a juncture, Khaydu, in his time, had detailed his sons Bay-kecher and Shah, together with Tuda-Timur, Mönke qaan's grandson, and Malik-Timur, son of Arïq-böge. According to the envoys, part of Orda's ulus was still held by Bayan and not by Küylük, but incessant wars had weakened Bayan's army and not all of his soldiers had horses. These campaigns must have displaced the centre of Orda's ulus from Northern Semirechyé, where it was

[1] *Rêport*, p. 38. [2] According to Rashīd.

situated in the middle of the thirteenth century, to the lower course of the Sïr-Darya.

During the same years, on Tuva's initiative, the idea was taken up of restoring the unity of the Mongol empire in the form of a federation, the only possible plan under the circumstances. The heads of the separate states would undertake to live at peace with each other under the nominal suzerainty of the qaan; trade would be absolutely free within the whole area of the empire. The plan was first submitted to the qaan who gave his unqualified approval. In August 1304 [1] the qaan's envoys arrived in Persia, together with those of Chapar and Tuva. Here too, as at the Juchid court, Tuva's plan met with no objections. The treaty was concluded but remained a dead letter in view of happenings in Central Asia [2].

In 1305 Chapar's army clashed in Mawarannahr with some Chaghatay princes, who were defeated. Tuva sent envoys to Chapar to apologise for the "giddy youths" responsible for this unfortunate occurrence, and to suggest an arbitration for the settling of all disputes. The suggestion was accepted, and both sides appointed arbitrators bound to assemble in Tashkent. The truce was, however, broken by the rebel princes (including both Chaghatay's and Ögedey's descendants) who at Choqbaliq attacked the troops of Chapar's brother SHAH. When the latter saw how numerous were the enemy forces, he decided to cut his way through their ranks and attack them from the rear. At this point, his army was suddenly assailed from another quarter by Tuva's generals who were at their winter quarters in the valley of the Arpa in southern Semirechyé. Shah fled with the remnants of his army (7,000 men) and joined his brother Bay-kecher. The victors sacked Shah's "Golden horde" in the Talas valley and plundered the neighbouring towns. At that moment Chapar was near the Irtish and the Altai, fighting the generals of the qaan whom Tuva had persuaded to open hostilities. Betrayed by his

[1] The date is in Rashid al-din's anonymous continuator. On him see d'Ohsson, I, *Exposition*, p. XLII.

[2] These events are described in detail by Wassaf, MS. Public Library V, 3, 24, f. 355 sq. D'Ohsson, II, 519, only briefly refers to them.

army and the princes, and left with only 300 faithful horsemen, Chapar was obliged to seek out Tuva, who received him kindly and assigned to him a special yurt. His brothers also submitted to the victor. Chapar's personal domains (*injü*) were given to Bay-kecher; TÜKME, great-grandson of Güyük qaan, received his great-grandfather's yurt; Khaydu's troops, with the exception of those which had gone over to the qaan with Malik-Timur, were divided between Tükme, Bay-kecher and Shah. The latter was treated with particular esteem.

Wassāf remarks that all these events took place within one year and that Tuva died in 1307 from apoplexy. Rashid al-din's continuator says that he died of brain-fever, and that news of his death reached Persia in the last days of 1306. The princes set upon the throne his son KÜNJEK who was summoned from Barkul (now Bars-kul, i.e. "Lake of the Panther") and enthroned in Sebkün-Bala, near Almalïq. He died in 1308 in Yulduz [1]. Under him another revolt of the princes took place. In the battle near Büri-bashi [2] the rebels were at first victorious but later defeated owing to the defection of their troops. Their leader KÜRSEBE (a descendant of Ögedey) was killed while seeking safety in flight.

The throne was now seized by Prince TALIQU (grandson of Büri, killed in 1251), a man of advanced age [3]. Son of a Kirman princess, he professed Islam, his Muslim name being Khizr [4]. He displeased the princes by his too obvious patronising of Islam and by his action against the sons of Tuva and their amirs, while there were many who regarded Tuva's descendants as rightful heirs to the throne. On their side were another of Büri's grand-

[1] These facts, which are not in Wassāf [Bombay ed. p. 509-21], are taken from Rashid al-din's continuator.

[2] A place of this name is mentioned in the history of Timur's campaigns see Pétis de la Croix, *Histoire de Timour-bec*, II, 35. It was situated in the eastern part of the Sïr-Darya province, or in western Semirechyé.

[3] Thus according to Wassāf. Chronologically it is hardly possible. It is very likely that, in conformity with the oldest MSS. of Rashid al-din, and contrary to the testimony of other sources, Taliqu's father was not the son of Büri, but of Chaghatay himself. [But see Rashīd, ed. Blochet, 165].

[4] Quoted in the genealogical history [*Muʿizz al-ansāb*].

sons, Ürük, and Chapar's brother Shah. There were even rumours that Chapar himself was behind them. When Taliqu invited the princes to a *toy* ("wedding feast") [1], Ürük and Shah refused to come and raised a revolt. Ürük and his sons were killed in a battle, and Shah was taken prisoner. Taliqu's forces were equally successful in their encounters with the other rebels. Unable to oppose the khan in the open field, the partisans of Tuva's sons came to the *toy* and hatched a plot against the khan. During the night Tuva's son, KEBEK, accompanied by 300 horsemen, suddenly broke into the khan's tent and killed him. According to Wassāf this happened in 708/1308-9, but the author of the genealogical history of the Mongols places Taliqu's accession in 709/1309-10, and his death in A.H. 710.

The disturbances in the Chaghatay ulus kindled Chapar's hopes to recover the lost power. In alliance with Tükme, Bay-kecher and the sons of Urus, he marched against Kebek, but was defeated to the South of the river Ili. With Tükme's consent, Chapar crossed the Ili and entered Tükme's possessions. Soon however they quarelled, and Chapar defeated Tükme, plundered his yurt and marched eastwards to join the qaan. During his flight, Tükme met Kebek's detachment and was killed in the ensuing encouter. The country suffered severely under these feuds which affected both agriculture and trade [2]. Kebek summoned the princes to a quriltay (in the beginning of A.H 709 according to Wassāf), and it was decided to set upon the throne Kebek's elder brother ESEN-BUQA, who at that time was in the

[1] I.e. a quriltay. On the importance of the *toy* in the Chaghatay state see *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah,* texte et traduction par Defrémery et Sanguinetti, Paris 1855, t. II, p. 40.

[2] Thus according to Wassāf. The greater part of the ruins mentioned in the *Tarīkh-i Rashīdī* (cf. Report, pp. 17, 38) must belong to this period. ᶜOmari, a writer of the first half of the fourteenth century, quotes the impressions of a man who visited the country: "In Turkestan one finds now only ruins, more or less well preserved. One sees in the distance a well-built village surrounded by flourishing vegetation. One approaches in the hope of meeting the inhabitants only to find the houses quite empty. The entire population is nomad and does not cultivate the land". *Notices et Extraits,* XIII, par I, pp. 257-258.

East, in the qaan's dominions. The greater part of Khaydu's lands passed now into the hands of the Chaghatay princes. Of Khaydu's sons, only Shah received a special thousand and a separate yurt.

Esen-buqa succeeded, to some degree, in re-establishing peace and order within his possessions, but the unfortunate foreign wars, which filled his reign, were bound to have repercussions on the prosperity of the country. A clash with a frontier detachment of the qaan's troops, whose winter quarters were on the banks of the Qobuq and summer quarters on the Esen-müren (a tributary of the Irtish), led to open war [1]. The commander of the detachment devastated an area of 3 month's journey, and another of the qaan's armies an area of 40 days' journey. The qaan's troops even plundered Esen-buqa's own camps, his winter camp near the Issik-kul, and his summer camp near Talas. Esen-buqa's first attempts to conclude an alliance against the qaan with ÖZBEK, head of the Juchid ulus since 1312, were abortive. Only in 1315 did they reach a certain understanding on the grounds of their common hostility to Öljeytü, the ruler of Persia [2]. In Persia too the Chaghatay troops gained nothing, owing to the treason of Prince YASAVUR [3].

The historians do not quote the exact date of Esen-buqa's death [4]. He must have died about 1318 for, according to numismatic evidence, his brother KEBEK, who ruled 8 years, died in 726/1326. When the Arab traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was in Central Asia in 1333, he heard some reports about Kebek. He was described as a just monarch, who cared for the well-being of his subjects and protected the Muslims, although he himself remained a Shamanist [5]. Historians also mention Kebek's concern for his subjects' welfare and in this respect Mūsawī sets him off against Esen-buqa. Yet this solicitude was almost exclusively directed to Mawarannahr and Afghanistan. Kebek's capital was

[1] Described by Rashid al-din's continuator, MS. As. Mus. a 566, f. 473 sq.
[2] D'Ohsson, IV, 574.
[3] Id., IV, 563 sq.
[4] Some historian erroneously place it in A.H. 721.
[5] *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah,* III, 31-32.

the town of Nakhshab which from that time became known as Qarshi, i.e. "the palace" [1].

According to the historians, Kebek died a natural death, but Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [2] alleges that he was killed by his brother Tarmashirin [3]. The fact is that Kebek's death was separated from Tarmashirin's accession by the reigns of two other sons of Tuva, Ilchigedey and Durra-Timur. Under ILCHIGEDEY the Dominican Thomas Mancasola [4] launched a successful Catholic propaganda in Central Asia. In 1329 Thomas returned to Avignon. Pope John XXII sent him back to Central Asia as Bishop of Samarqand [5], with a letter to Ilchigedey who, judging by numismatic evidence, was already dead by that time.

Before his accession DURRA-TIMUR apparently had an appanage in one of the eastern provinces. Chinese chronicles contain a record of the pecuniary aid sent to him from China in 1315, in view of the drought from which his country was suffering [6].

TARMASHIRIN, who must have ascended the throne by the end of 1326, embraced Islam and received the Muslim appellation of ʿAlā al-dīn ("Greatness of the Faith") [7]. His conversion to Islam and his indifference to popular customs aroused the discontent of the Mongols. Tarmashirin did not convoke the princes to *toys*, which formerly were held every year. He warred in Afghanistan and led an expedition into India [8], but utterly neglected the

[1] Kebek built himself a palace at 2½ farsakhs' distance from the town. See Pétis de la Croix, *Histoire de Timour-bec*, I, 95.

[2] III, 42.

[3] [Apparently a name of Sanskrit and Buddhist origin: *Dharma-śrī*.]

[4] *Moshemii Historia Tartarorum ecclesiastica*, pp. 110-1, Appendix No. LXIV.

[5] Under Kebek and Ilchigedey Mawarannahr was the principal part of the state.

[6] *Mediaeval researches*, II, 14.

[7] Tarmāshīrīn's conversion to Islam led to a considerable extension of commercial relations with Western Asia (*Notices et extraits*, XIII, part I, p. 238).

[8] [Records of this expedition are somewhat contradictory. See Mahdi Husain, *The rise and fall of Muhammad b. Tughlug*, 1938, pp. 100-7.]

eastern part of his dominions. In the course of the last four years of his reign he never once visited Almalïq and the Eastern provinces. From what has been quoted above about Mubarak-shah and several other khans, it can be gathered that the Mongols' resentment against those khans who showed too great a partiality for Muslim culture was connected with the economic struggle between the nomad and the sedentary populations. In 1334 a revolt broke out [1] against Tarmashirin, accused of infringing the *yasa*. The movement was headed by BUZAN, son of Durra-Timur-khan. Ibn Battuta affirms that Buzan [2] too was a Muslim but that he had a greater respect for popular customs. Tarmashirin was compelled to flee to Ghazni, on the border of his domains, but on the way he was captured by Yängi, son of Kebek, handed over to Buzan and put to death.

Ibn Battuta says of Buzan that he was an iniquitous ruler and that he oppressed the Muslims, while allowing the Jews and Christians to restore their temples. According to Sharaf al-din [3] and Mūsawī, he executed many princes and amirs. Judging by the coins, his reign was short and in the same year (1334) he was succeeded by JENKSHI, son of Ebügen and grandson of Tuva. Jenkshi was also no friend of Islam. Mūsawī says that he was a protector of Buddhist priests. Already in 1332, before his accession, Jenkshi had entertained relations with the Chinese government. In that year he sent 172 Russian prisoners to China, for which he received a pecuniary reward [4]. The khan seems to have lived mostly in Almalïq. During his reign the Catholic propaganda was transferred to this town [5]. The Franciscan Nicholas, appointed archbishop in China, was well received at Jenkshi's court. The nobles Carasmon and Iohanan (evidently Nestorians) presented the bishop appointed by the Pope with a large estate

[1] A comparatively detailed account on Tarmāshīrīn and subsequent events is found in Ibn Battūta, III, 39-43, and 47-51.

[2] Contrary to the records of Sharaf al-din and Ulugh-beg, cf. Miles, *The Shajrat al-Atrak*, p. 371.

[3] I am using the MS. of the Asiatic Museum No. 568, ff. 167-8.

[4] Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, II, 81.

[5] *Hist. Tartar. eccles.*, pp. 114-5, Appendix, Nos. LXXIX and LXXX, XCII.

near Almalïq where a handsome church was built. Soon after we hear of the presence in Almalïq of the Bishop Richard of Bourgogne, of the monks Francis and Raymond Rufus of Alexandria, of the priest Paschalis of Spain, and of the lay brothers Provence and Laurence of Alexandria. As a reward for successfully healing the khan, they were allowed to baptise his seven year old son. In 1338 it took Paschalis 5 months to travel from Kuhna-Urganch to Almalïq. He was frequently obliged to interrupt his journey by the disturbances which racked the country and during which Jenkshi was killed by his brother. According to Mūsawī, Jenkshi was killed in the night by an unknown assassin, but the version of Paschalis is confirmed by Ulugh-beg who says that Jenkshi was killed by his brother YESÜN-TIMUR [1]. The latter was finally driven insane by remorse and cut off his mother's breasts because she had been the instigator of his crime.

Neither Paschalis, nor any of the historical sources speak of the plague which, according to Nestorian inscriptions, ravaged the Semirechyé in 1338 and 1339 [2].

Yesün-Timur was deposed by ALI-SULTAN, a descendant of Ögedey and a Muslim. During his reign a savage persecution of the Christians took place in which the Muslim mob took part. All the Catholic missionaries who have been mentioned above suffered martyrdom in 1339. The Nestorians of the Semirechyé, many of whom occupied important administrative posts [3], must have been affected also by this persecution. Ali-Sultan's cruelty seems to have had other victims besides the Christians, for Muslim authors also call him an inhuman tyrant. He was succeeded by Yasavur's son QAZAN.

Ibn Battuta names none of these khans. According to him Yasavur's son, KHALĪL, revolted against Buzan khan with the help of MALIK-HUSAYN [Kart], king of Herat. His ally and vazir was ᶜAlā al-mulk Khudāvand-zāda of Tirmidh. During the battle Buzan was betrayed by his men and delivered to his enemy

[1] *The Shajrat al-Atrak*, pp. 372-373.

[2] *ZVO*, I, 305. D. Chwolson, Syrisch-Nestorianische Grabinschriften aus Semirjetschie, Neue Folge, SPb. 1897, p. 33.

[3] *ZVO*, I, 307. *Grabinschriften*, Neue Folge, p. 53.

who had him strangled. Khalil occupied Mawarannahr and marched on Almalïq. The Tatars elected another khan and attacked Khalil, but were defeated. Khalil occupied Almalïq, reached the frontiers of China and took the towns of Qaraqorum and Bishbalïq. The Chinese Emperor sent an army against Khalil, but later made peace with him. Leaving Khudāvand-zāda with a strong force in Bishbalïq, Khalil returned to Samarqand. Envious schemers aroused his suspicions against Khudāvand-zāda, whom he recalled and put to death. Then Khalil and Malik-Husayn fell out; Khalil was defeated and brought to the king of Herat who granted him his life and a generous pension. Khalil was still in Herat when Ibn Battuta passed through that town in the spring of 1347 on his way back from India.

It is not easy to ascertain how much truth this story contains. Judging by the facts related above, Khalil was not identical with Qazan. He is not mentioned by the historians, but there exist coins struck in his name in 743/1342 and 744/1344. The quarrel and reconciliation with Husayn are attributed by the historians to the intrigues of the Turkish amir QAZAGHAN.

In an attempt to restore the khan's authority undermined by the feuds, Qazan engaged in a struggle against the Turkish amirs. He had no success and in 1347 was killed in a battle against the above-mentioned Qazaghan. From then onwards the khans of Mawarannahr were merely figure-heads. The real power had passed entirely to the Turkish amirs.

## MOGHULISTAN [1]

The complete triumph in the West of the Turkish amirs, i.e. of the Muslim faction, impelled the Mongol amirs of the eastern

[1] The principal source for this period is the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī,* by Muhammad Haydar Dughlat, written in the middle of the fourteenth century and lately published in English translation: *The Tarikh-i Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat,* ed. by N. Elias, transl. by E. Denison Ross, London 1895. Extensive extracts from this work are to be found in Russian in Part II of V. V. Velyaminov-Zernov's book ("Izsledovaniye") on the kings and princes of Kasimov (in Russian), SPb. 1864. Many

part of the kingdom to set their own khan upon the throne. The most powerful of the Mongol amirs was PULADCHI, whose fief bordering on the domains of the Turkish amirs now received the name of *Manghalay-suba* (lit. "vanguard province"). It included part of Eastern Turkestan from Kashghar to Kucha, and part of the Semirechyé to the South of Lake Issik-kul. In 1348 he brought out of the Qulja region to Aqsu [1] the eighteen year old prince TUGHLUQ-TIMUR. He proclaimed him as Tuva's grandson and forced everybody to recognize him as khan. Until then Tughluq-Timur was thought to be the son of a Mongol amir, but it was now given out that his mother, who had been married to Tuva's son Emil-Khoja, was pregnant at the time of the prince's death and had given birth to Tughluq-Timur in the house of her second husband, for which reason he had been taken for the latter's son [2].

Although the legitimacy of the prince set upon the throne by the Mongols was more than doubtful, the choice proved a happy one. In 1360 Tughluq-Timur brought into submission even the Turkish amirs, and only after his death in 764/1362-3, was the army of his son Ilyas-Khoja driven out of Mawarannahr. Tughluq-Timur lies buried in Almalïq and his tomb can still be seen four miles from Alimtu, and less than a mile from the village of Khorin-Mazar [3].

substantial addenda and corrections to Muhammad Haydar are found in *Memoirs of Zahir ed-din Muhammad Baber,* translated partly by J. Leyden, partly by W. Erskine, London 1826 [latest translation by Annette S. Beveridge 1922], and in the historians of Timur and the Timurids: Mūsawī, Sharaf al-din Yazdi, Ḥāfiẓi-Abrū (Oxford MSS. Fraser 115 and Elliot 422) and Abd al-Razzāq of Samarqand (MS. SPb. Univ. No. 157); some passages of the latter's work are given in French translation (partly also in the original) by Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits,* XIV, part I. The Chinese reports are quoted by Dr. Bretschneider in his *Mediaeval researches.*

[1] Across the Muzart pass.

[2] Thus according to the *Muʿizz al-ansāb,* ch. V. Another record tells how Puladchi found this scion of the khan's family; see *Tarikh-i Rashidi,* p. 6. Muh. Haydar and Babur (Erskine, p. 11) call Tughluq-Timur Esen-buqa's son, which is chronologically impossible.

[3] See *Report,* p. 65.

Besides Eastern Turkestan, a cultural region from time immemorial, the state founded by Puladchi and Tughluq-Timur included a vast country inhabited by nomads and stretching from north to south and from east to west to a distance of seven or eight months' travel [1], from the Irtish and the Emil to the Tien-shan, and from Barkul to Farghana and Lake Balkhash. Lake Balkhash called Kökche-Tengiz, was regarded as a frontier between Moghulistan and Uzbekistan, i.e. the Juchid dominions. From the ethnological point of view, it would be difficult to formulate exactly the difference which existed between this country and the western half of the Chaghatay possessions; in other words, to say how much here too the Mongols had undergone the influence of Turkish elements. In any case the difference between the mode of life of the nomad East and that of the sedentary Muslim West, was so great that even Timur was unable to reestablish the unity of the Chaghatay kingdom. The dislike for Islam and Islamic culture was much stronger in the people than in its rulers. Already Tughluq-Timur had embraced Islam and his successors bore Muslim names. On the other hand, the greater part of their subjects remained heathens, and only in the second half of the fifteenth century did their western neighbours accept them as Muslims [2]. In the kingdom of Timur and his descendants, the inhabitants of Moghulistan were referred to by the pejorative term *jätä* [3] "robbers". The expression "the Jätä country" is often used by the historians as a synonym of Moghulistan.

Puladchi died before Tughluq-Timur, and his young son KHUDĀYDĀD became his heir. QAMAR AL-DIN, Puladchi's brother, rebelled against Tughluq Timur's successor, ILYĀS-KHOJA and killed him. His reign was so short that it was not even mentioned in Mongol tradition [4]. Qamar al-din seized the power and strove

[1] See the description in *TR*, p. 360 sq.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

[3] *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 75. [The meaning is still doubtful. This nickname can hardly have any connection with the Hephthalites. In Turkish *chete* means "a band". V. M.]

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

to exterminate all the relatives of Tughluq-Timur. Taking advantage of these troubles, the amir TIMUR, who had brought into submission the western kingdom of the Chaghatayids, led an expedition against Moghulistan. According to Mūsawī, he raided Qochqar already in 772/1370. In the beginning of 1375 [1] he set out from Sayram and reached the Charīn. Qamar al-din's camp was situated in the Kök-tepe mountains. He retreated to Berke-yi Ghūriyān [2], a place of very difficult access, for it consisted of three narrow gorges along which flowed three large rivers. Yet even there he was overtaken and defeated by Timur who then proceeded to Baytaq. On his orders, three amirs pursued the enemy along the banks of the Ili. Timur spent fifty three days in Baytaq. Meanwhile, his son Jahangir was pursuing Qamar al-din in the mountains and defeating one by one the Mongol detachments in the Ūch-Farmān region (in Eastern Turkestan). He even succeeded in capturing Qamar al-din's wife and daughter. From Baytaq Timur marched across the Qara-Qasmaq (Qastek) pass to Atbash in the Arpa valley, where he celebrated his marriage with Qamar al-din's daughter, and then across the Yasï (Jasï) pass he returned to Uzgand.

In the next year 1376 [3] while Timur was away on an expedition to Khwarazm, Qamar al-din invaded Farghana, but on hearing of Timur's approach, he retreated to Atbash. Timur followed him. Qamar al-din laid an ambush, but was again defeated and wounded at Sekiz-Yigach [4]. By way of Ata-Qum,

[1] On this expedition see Pétis de la Croix, I, 252 sq. The reading of the names in the history of Timur's campaigns could not always be satisfactorily established, though, in addition to the translation of Pétis de la Croix, I have used the original in the printed (Calcutta) edition and in three MSS. of the Asiatic Museum, the Turkish translation of the *Zafar-nama* (in a MS. belonging to me) and the translation of the *TR.*

[2] In the Turkish MS. Berke-yi Quzghan. The Turkish translation of the *TR* (p. 41) has Arshal-Atar. On Renat's map (cf. below chapter on the Qalmuq) the name Bangharban-Benke is borne by two small rivers flowing into the Charīn near the point where the latter turns northwards.

[3] Pétis de la Croix, I, 265 sq. [*ZN,* I, 268]. AR, f. 69, places this expedition in 1377.

[4] I.e. "eight trees [or farsakhs]". Persian MSS. have, however, *Sangar.* Also in Pétis de la Croix and in the *TR.*

Timur returned to the banks of the Amu-Darya and thence continued to Samarqand.

In 1377 [1] Timur again sent an army against Qamar al-din, who was overtaken and defeated on the Quratu steppe. In the same year Timur invaded the Semirechyé with another army. The vanguard defeated Qamar al-din in the Buam gorge. Timur reached Qochqar and through a place called Oynaghu returned to Uzgand.

Timur's next expedition took place in 1383 [2]. Several detachments were sent into the Semirechyé. The vanguard defeated the enemy and returned to Ata-Qum even before the main forces had reached that place. The combined forces then marched into the mountains beyond the Issik-kul, but failing to come up with Qamar al-din, returned to Samarqand.

All these reverses were bound to weaken Qamar al-din. His nephew Khudaydad, who was then ruling in Kashghar, had saved from his uncle's wrath Tughluq-Timur's son KHIZR-KHOJA, who, in the year of his father's death, had been a babe in arms. At the time when Qamar al-din's power was at its zenith, the prince was secretly brought up in the mountains between Kashghar and Badakhshan. For the next twelve years he lived in the extreme south-east of the kingdom, near Lake Lob-Nor. One cannot assess the accuracy of these facts [3] and discard the idea the prince had been discovered by Khudāydād just as Tughluq-Timur had been discovered by Khudāydād's father. In any case, the prince was recognised as khan in 1389.

In 1389 [4] Timur undertook another expedition against Moghulistan. From Al-Qoshun, across Büri-Bashi and Tüpelik-Qaraq he reached the mountain pass Ornaq (or Oznaq). After this the following places are mentioned on his road: Atqan-Suri [5] (where there was snow and ice, although it was summer), Targha-

[1] P. de la Croix, I, 274 *ZN*, I, 273. According to AR, f. 70, in 1378.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 363.

[3] According to the *TR*, p. 54, Khizr-khoja was born in A.H. 770, i.e. six years after Tughluq-Timur's death.

[4] Pétis de la Croix, II, 35 sq.

[5] In the Turkish translation of the *ZN*: Atin.

Otlagh, the plain of Ayghïr-yalï ("the stallion's mane"), the plain of Ulan-Charlïgh, and Chapar-Ayghïr ("the galloping stallion"). Here the Mongol cavalry, commanded by Anga-Türe, one of Khizr-khoja's generals, was defeated. The vanguard had been sent against Anga-Türe who was then in Urung-Yar. On the next day Timur's main army realised that it was off the right road, but through Qiyan-Qazï it worked its way back into the proper direction to reach Kök-Salï in the evening, and Ayaghuz on the next day [1]. As three days had thus been lost, Timur thought that the enemy must have got wind of his coming and dispersed. He therefore divided his army into two forces. He himself proceeded by way of Shira, Shibertü [2], Qoy-Maragh, Quraghan and Buyurlaghu to Qara-Ghuchur (on Renat's map such a name is shown in the western part of the Tarbaghatay range). His son, Omar-Shaykh, at the head of another body of troops overtook Anga-Türe on the banks of the Qobuq and defeated him. Anga-Türe fled to Qaqma-burji. Omar-Shaykh rejoined Timur in the region of Akhta-dïktur. Timur went on across the Ala-kul plain, which was also called It-ichmes ("the dog does not drink"), and then returned to Qara-Ghuchur. Here Timur allowed his troops to recuperate before sending a detachment on to the Irtish. The prisoners were sent off to Samarqand, while Timur proceeded to Emil-Ghuchur where he rested in Saray-Ordam, the khan's camp. From Emil he gave orders that troops from different parts of his kingdom should march to devastate the southern part of Moghulistan and then converge on the Yulduz whither Timur himself now proceeded. The route of the amirs stationed in Turkestan, on the border between the Mongol and Uzbek possessions, lay across [the pass] Ur-daban, the river Ili, past the lake Süt-kul (Sayram) and along the places called Chicheklik ("flower-garden") and Balay-Qaz. As

[1] The first point of this route which can be located with any precision. The study of the road followed by Timur is complicated by the fact that Sharaf al-din does not mention his crossing such large rivers as the Chu and the Ili.

[2] Lit. "clayey place", a geographical name very common with the Mongols [*ZN*, I, 472].

they continued their march to the Yulduz, they encountered Khizr-Khoja's army. After a two days' indecisive battle, the armies agreed to separate. From Emil, Timur marched through Ulugh-Qul ("main centre"; possibly the camp of the main Mongol army), the Sïchqan-daban pass (lit. "gate of the mouse") and across the river Küngez to Yulduz. From thence he pursued Khizr-Khoja for some distance beyond Chalïsh (Qarashar) and in the meantime directed Omar-Shaykh [1] to proceed to Farghana across Eastern Turkestan. After that, on 8 August 1389, he set out from Great Yulduz on a rapid march homewards and on 30 August arrived in Samarqand, whereas caravans took usually two months to make this journey.

In 1390 [2] Timur again sent an army to devastate Moghulistan and pursue Qamar al-din who had fled beyond the Irtish. The army marched from Tashkent to Issik-kul, then into the Kök-tepe mountains, across the mountain pass Arjatu [3] into Almalïq (probably the town of Alma-Ata, now Verny), across the rivers Ili and Qaratal, and the plains of Ichni-Buchni and Üker-Kitichi. When the army reached the Irtish, Qamar al-din had already gone farther north, into the Töles country [Altai] where there were many sables and ermines. On its way home the army marched *via* Altun-Kürge [Küverge?] and past the large lake Atrak-kul (Balkhash).

After these events Qamar al-din probably never returned to Moghulistan. According to a Mongol tradition [4], towards the end of his life he suffered from dropsy and during one of Timur's invasions disappeared in some woods. As Timur was engaged in wars in the West, he did not stand in Khizr-Khoja's way when the latter established himself in Moghulistan. In 1397 [5] Khizr-Khoja sent his eldest son Shamᶜi-Jahān ("the Light of

[1] [Who apparently had advanced as far as Turfan (Qara-Khoja, Khara-Khocho), *ZN*, I, 477.]

[2] Pétis de la Croix, II, 66sq. [*ZN*, I, 494.]

[3] I.e. *Arshatu*, lit. "place of warm springs", a common geographical name.

[4] Recorded in *TR*, pp. 50-51.

[5] Pétis de la Croix, II, 421, 427.

the World") as ambassador to Timur. Through him Timur asked for the hand of his sister Tavakkul [Tükäl?]-agha who was sent to him and received at his court the title of "Lesser Lady" (*Kichik-khanïm*) [1].

Khizr died in 1399. His death was followed by feuds among his four sons, Shamᶜi-Jahān, Muhammad-Oghlan, Shīr-Ali and Shāh-Jahān. This situation was taken advantage of by Mirza Iskandar, son of Omar-Shaykh, who plundered Eastern Turkestan [2]. When he besieged Aqsu the inhabitants bought him off by handing over to him the rich Chinese merchants residing in the town, with all their property. This fact shows that, despite the troubled times, trade with the East had not been interrupted.

We know nothing of Timur's relations with Khizr-Khoja's sons [3]. After Khizr's death, part of Moghulistan seems to have submitted to Timur. Timur settled the tribe of the Black Tatars, whom he had brought out of Asia Minor, on the shores of the Issik-kul, but no sooner did he die than they hastened to leave that country. It was there too that Timur sent one of the dignitaries who had fallen into disgrace. During his preparations for the campaign against China in 1404, Timur put northern Moghulistan under the administration of Tashkent, which was nominally ruled by his grandson Ulugh-beg, and Eastern Turkestan under the administration of Farghana [4].

After Timur's death, SHAMᶜI-JAHĀN, Khizr-Khoja's eldest son, appealed to the Chinese for help, in the hope of conquering Mawarannahr [5]. This happened in 1407, and in the next year he died and was succeeded by his brother MUHAMMAD KHAN. After his accession the new khan sent an embassy to Timur's son Shahrukh expressing his submission, which did not prevent him, however, from interfering in the feuds in Mawarannahr and supporting the rebel amirs. This led to his losing Kashghar [6]

[1] Thus according to the *Muᶜizz al-ansāb*.

[2] Pétis de la Croix, III, 215 sq. [*ZN*, II, 218]. Mūsawī and AR place this expedition in 1377 and attribute it to Omar-Shaykh.

[3] According to the *TR*, p. 54, Khizr-Khoja survived Timur.

[4] Pétis de la Croix, IV, 203-4. [*ZN*, II, 633.]

[5] Bretschneider, *o.c.* II, 239.

[6] *Notices et Extraits*, XIV, part. I, p. 296.

in 1416. According to Muhammad Haydar [1] Muhammad khan zealously propagated Islam in his dominions: all the Mongols were obliged to wear turbans, horse-shoe nails being driven into the heads of those who disobeyed the order. The building of the famous Tash-rabat on the northern bank of Lake Chatïr-kul is ascribed to him.

In 1416 the new Mongol khan, NAQSHI-JAHĀN, son [2] of Shamᶜi-Jahān, sent embassies to Shahrukh and to China. The Chinese place the death of Muhammad khan in the same year, but according to Abd al-Razzaq [3], he died earlier in 1415. In 1418 Naqshi-Jahān was killed by Shir-Ali's son [4] Vays-Oghlan. In 1420 a feud broke out in Moghulistan between VAYS-KHAN and SHIR-MUHAMAD-OGHLAN [5]. It is uncertain on whose side was Khudaydad, head of the Mongol amirs. In any case, he was in touch with Ulugh-beg, who at the time ruled in Mawarannahr in his father's name. Probably at his instigation, Ulugh-beg undertook an expedition against Moghulistan. On his way thither the Mongol amirs met him with assurances of submission, and the campaign was called off [6]. In the same year SHAHRUKH sent his famous embassy to China. The ambassadors reached Moghulistan in the beginning of May. They feared for their safety because of the struggle which was going on between Vays-khan and Shir-Muhammad's adherents, but their fears were allayed by Khudāydād whom they saw on their way to Vays. On 4 June the envoys crossed the Küngez, on the 5th they met the local ruler Muhammad-beg and on the 8th they reached Yulduz. On the 20th they learnt that Muhammad-beg's sons had robbed Vays-khan's ambassadors, which made them hasten on their way [7]. Finally Shir-Muhammad fled to Samarqand where

[1] *TR*, p. 58.

[2] According to Muhammad Haydar, p. 57, his brother.

[3] *Notices et Extraits*, p. 277.

[4] The *Muᶜizz al-ansāb* and Sharaf al-din say that Shir-Ali was Muhammad khan's brother. Babur and Muhammad Haydar call him his son.

[5] Son of Shah-Jahan, according to the *Muᶜizz al-ansāb*; son of Muhammad khan, according to *TR*.

[6] AR, f. 218.

[7] *Notices et Extraits*, pp. 388-389.

he remained in honourable captivity. In October he made an unsuccessful attempt to escape, but in December ULUGH-BEG himself allowed him to leave, and he returned to Moghulistan, where in 1421 he overcame his enemies and became sole ruler [1]. Because he refused to submit to Ulugh-beg, the latter invaded the Semirechyé in 1425 [2] and defeated the Mongol troops near the Aqsu (a tributary of the Chu). When Ulugh-beg had crossed the Chu and the Charïn, Khudāydād came to him expressing his submission. In May Shir-Muhammad was defeated in the same region, and Ulugh-beg's troops pursued the enemy as far as the Ili. Ulugh-beg proceeded to Yulduz, the chief summer-quarters (*yaylaq*) of Moghulistan. On the way back, at a place called Qarshi, Ulugh-beg got hold of the "blue stone" (*kök-tash*) which Timur had unsuccessfully tried to remove to Samarqand. [The stone now lies on Timur's grave.]

According to Muhammad Haydar [3], Shir-Muhammad died a natural death. Once again Vays-khan came into power, but in 1428 he was killed on the shores of the Issik-kul in a battle with Satuq-khan. The latter bore the title of khan in Samarqand, where the actual power belonged to Ulugh-beg. Finally he was deposed by Ulugh-beg who sent him to Moghulistan [4].

During the reign of Vays-khan Moghulistan suffered from the incursions of the Eastern HEATHEN MONGOLS. In the fourteenth century a league of four tribes (Choros, Khoshot, Torghot and Khoyt) came into being. In 1399 the Oyrat leader Ügechi-Khashagha killed the Mongol qaan Elbek. The latest historian of the Eastern Mongols, D. Pokotilov [5], dates from this event the beginning of the Oyrat hegemony. In 1408 a new qaan, ÖLJEY-TIMUR, was set upon the throne in Bish-balïq [6], which usually belonged to the Moghulistan khans but by that

[1] AR, f. 223.
[2] *Ibid.*, ff. 230-231.
[3] *TR*, p. 65.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 72.
[5] *History of the Eastern Mongols during the epoch of the Ming dynasty* (in Russian), SPb. 1893, p. 15.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

time must have been occupied by the Eastern Mongols. Already in Shir-Muhammad's time preparations were being made for war with the Oyrat, or Qalmuq (Qalmaq), as the Muslims called them. The Qalmuqs turned to the Chinese government, and the latter sent envoys to dissuade Shir-Muhammad from carrying out this project [1]. According to Chinese sources, Vays-khan moved his main camp from Eastern Turkestan westward to Ili-balïq, i.e. to the banks of the Ili, in the Semirechyé. The contemporary Chinese descriptions of the country no longer speak of the towns and flourishing villages which had struck the 13th century travellers. In the fifteenth century the Semirechyé was peopled exclusively by nomads who lived in felt tents and fed on meat and *qumïs* (koumiss). In their clothing they resembled partly the Oyrat, and partly the Muslims [2]. On the banks of the Ili, Vays-khan often clashed with the military chief Esen-Tayji, who was the son of Toghon, the principal Oyrat leader of the time [3]. Vays-khan fought sixty-one battles with the Qalmuqs, and of these won only one. Twice he was taken prisoner, and, against his will, had to give his sister in marriage to Esen-Tayji [4].

Satuq-khan failed to establish his sway over Moghulistan and was soon killed in Kashghar. After his death, the Mongol amirs became divided into two factions: one wished to set upon the throne Vays-khan's eldest son YŪNUS, the other his second son ESEN-BUQA, both princes being still children. Esen-buqa's party prevailed, and Yūnus was taken by his adherents to Mawarannahr from whence Ulugh-beg sent him on to Persia. According to Babur [5] this happened in 1434. The youthful Esen-buqa had little authority over his tribesmen and, during the first half of his reign, the Mongol amirs ruled their respective provinces in

[1] *TR,* Introduction, p. 45.
[2] Bretschneider, *o.c.,* II, 241-242.
[3] Pokotilov, p. 53.
[4] *TR,* pp. 65-67.
[5] Babur, *Memoirs,* p. 11, says that Yūnus arrived in Shiraz five or six months before the death of Shahrukh's son Ibrahim, which happened in Shawwal 838/May 1435, see AR, f. 245. [A. Beveridge's translation I. 19-24.]

complete independence. One of these amirs was MIR MUHAMMAD-SHAH, son of Khudāydād, of Atbash. Another amir, MIR KARĪM-BERDI, built himself a stronghold on the Ala-bugha, and from thence raided Farghana. A third amir, MIR HAQQ-BERDI BEKICHEK, built a fort at Qoy-su, on an island in the Issik-kul, whither he brought his family for fear of Qalmuq raids, while he himself began raiding Turkestan and Sayram [1]. Khudāydād's grandson, SA'ĪD-ALI wrested Kashghar from the Timurids [2].

Consequently, even in those early days the Qalmuqs raided the country up to the Issik-kul; some years later, they penetrated as far as the Sïr-Darya province. After Esen's death, which occurred in 1455, the power of the Oyrat in the East declined, and for the next two centuries they are no longer mentioned in the Chinese sources. Muslim sources mention Esen's son AMASANJI-TAYJI [3] and another chief UZ-TIMUR-TAYJI. The latter defeated the Uzbeks on the Sïr-Darya between the years 1452 and 1455 [4], or, according to another source [5], in 1457. At the end of 1459 SULTAN ABU-SA'ĪD received a Qalmuq embassy in Herat [6].

Somewhat earlier, in the 1540-ies, Esen-buqa returned to power and strove to acquire popularity through leniency. To the Timurids he remained an awkward neighbour and often raided their states. Finally Sultan Abu-Sa'īd marched against Moghulistan and defeated the Mongols at Ashpara [7]. He summoned Yūnus from Persia and, after obtaining from him the pledge that he would give up all claims to Mawarannahr, sent him to Mo-

[1] *TR*, pp. 78-79. *Report*, pp. 42, 49.

[2] *TR*, pp. 75-76.

[3] *TR*, pp. 79, 91.

[4] Howorth, *History of the Mongols, II*, 688. Aristov, *Notes* (in Russian, p. 40.

[5] The author of the *Nusrat-nāma*, written in the beginning of the sixteenth century (MS. As. Mus. No. 590, f. 66) says that prince Mahmūd-Sultan (b. in 858/1454) was captured by the Qalmuqs when he was three years old and remained with them for seven years.

[6] AR, f. 322.

[7] Thus according to Babur, pp. 11-12. According to Muhammad Haydar, p. 78, the battle took place near Talas.

ghulistan [1]. Some amirs, like Mir Karīm-berdi and Mir Ibrahim (Haqq-berdi's successor), joined Yūnus, but they were too much accustomed to independence to serve him well. Yūnus was defeated in a battle with the Khan, after which he retired to live in the town of Jiti-kand, on the border between Farghana and the Semirechyé, which Abu-Saʿīd had assigned to him [2].

Esen-buqa died in 1462. A remarkable event of his reign was the appearance in the Semirechyé, and in particular on the banks of the Chu, of the QAZAKHS, the present day inhabitants of the greater part of this country [3]. Muhammad Haydar puts their number at 200,000. Their chiefs Giray and Janibeg who had quarelled with the Uzbek khan Abul-Khayr, were welcomed by Esen-buqa [4].

After Esen-buqa's death western Moghulistan passed under Yunus. The town of Aqsu (in Chinese Turkestan) and the region to the west of it were ruled, down to 873/1468-9, by Esen-buqa's son DOST-MUHAMMAD, after whose death Yunus occupied Aqsu. Kebek-Sultan, Dost-Muhammad's son, withdrew to Turfan where he ruled for four years. He was killed by his own subjects and his head was sent to Yunus.

In 1472 the whole country was united under YUNUS. Even more than his predecessors, the new khan differed from his subjects, and consequently he was still less popular with them. He was born in A.H. 818 [5] or 819 [6] (A.D. 1415-7); during the years which he spent in Persia he received a thorough Muslim education under the guidance of the famous historian Sharaf al-din Yazdi. A cadi from Mawarannahr, who had an audience with Yunus, was expecting to meet "a beardless man with the ways and manners of any other Turk of the desert" and found instead "a person of elegant deportment with a full beard and a Tajik

[1] According to the *TR*, pp. 83-84, in 1456, but earlier according to Babur, for Yūnus spent in Persia 17-18 years.

[2] *TR*, pp. 86-87.

[3] [Before the Russian revolution they were incorrectly called: Qirghiz-Qazakh, or Qaysaq. V.M.]

[4] V. Zernov, II, 139.

[5] Thus according to the *TR*, p. 115.

[6] *TR*, p. 84.

face and such refined speech and manners, as is seldom found even in a Tajik" [1]. Such a man could not have become resigned to a nomad existence. All his life he tried to establish his residence in some town and to persuade at least some of his subjects to follow his example. According to Muhammad Haydar, his motives were partly religious, for he realised that his subjects would never become true Muslims "until they settled down in cultivated countries" [2]. All his efforts were fruitless, because for a Mongol town life was worse than a prison. More than once the khan had to leave the town for the steppe, so as not to be abandoned by his people.

As already mentioned, in 1472 the Semirechyé was invaded by the Qalmuq military chief AMASANJI-TAYJI, who had been driven out of his country by internal struggles. Yunus was defeated on the banks of the Ili and fled to the Sïr-Darya where he spent the winter. Here he defeated the Uzbek khan BURUCH-OGHLAN, but in the next spring was taken prisoner by the governor of Tashkent. A year later this governor was killed, and Yunus recovered his freedom and was sent back to Moghulistan which the Qalmuqs had evacuated by that time [3].

Even before Abu-Saʿīd's death in 1469, Yunus had resumed his raids upon the Timurid possessions in a vain attempt to seize Farghana [4]. Later he took a hand in the feuds which broke out among Abu-Saʿīd's sons, Ahmad-mirza and Omar-Shaykh, and as a result added Sayram to his possessions in 1492, and Tashkent in 1485. So strong had his preference for town life become that he stayed on in the towns of Mawarannahr even when the majority of his subjects had left him and proclaimed his second son Ahmad, who had been brought up on the steppes. In Eastern Turkestan, the amir ABU-BAKR formed an independent state and successfully resisted all attacks by Yunus [5].

Yunus died in 1487 from a stroke. His eldest son MAHMŪD,

[1] *TR*, pp. 97-98.
[2] *TR*, p. 156.
[3] *TR*, pp. 91-95; V. Zernov, II, 143.
[4] AR, f. 349.
[5] *TR*, pp. 104-114.

born in 868/1463-4, succeeded him as ruler of the western part of the country and nominal sovereign of the whole state. Like his father, he was a man of culture and a poet, though an inferior one [1]. Babur [2] admits his many merits but denies him any military talent. Nor does he seem to have had any gift for ruling his subjects [3].

Mahmud remained in Mawarannahr and made every effort to expand his dominions. He had some success until in 1500 there began the rapid rise of the Uzbek khan MUHAMMAD SHIBANI, Abul-Khayr's grandson. According to Muhammad Haydar [4], the khan at first supported Shibani, and in 1488 ceded Turkestan to him, though this decision spoilt his relations with the Qazakhs. In 1500 he helped Shibani to seize Bukhara and Samarqand, but his newly-found friend soon turned his arms against him, and he was obliged to invoke the aid of his younger brother.

AHMAD, born in 870/1465-6, was totally unlike Mahmud. His nephew Babur describes [5] him as a true son of the steppes—a man of powerful physique, a stern and brave soldier, who preferred the sword to any other weapon. He wore Mongol dress, and his arms and the harness of his horse were all in keeping with Mongol custom. Ahmad defeated the Qalmuq chief TAYJI-ESEN in two battles and his exploits put such fear into the Qalmuqs that they nicknamed him *Alacha* or *Alachi,* "the Killer". He also fought the rebel amirs and the Qazakhs, who had risen against his brother and had defeated him in two battles. Thrice Ahmad defeated the Qazakhs. His only reverse was the unsuccessful attempt to reconquer Kashghar and Yarkand.

In response to his brother's appeal, Ahmad left his nineteen-year-old son Mansūr in Moghulistan and set off for Tashkent with two of his other sons. In 1503 Shibani took the Mongol army by surprise and made both brothers prisoner. He allowed

[1] *Memoirs of Baber,* p. 102. [It seems that he only took some liberties with Turkish rhymes, see A. Beveridge's translation I, 154.]
[2] Pp. 59, 97.
[3] *TR.* 181.
[4] *TR,* 118-120.
[5] Babur, pp. 106, 112.

them to return to Moghulistan, but took Tashkent and Sayram from Mahmud. The brothers spent the next winter together in Aqsu where Ahmad died from a stroke [1]. Mahmud left Aqsu and Eastern Moghulistan to his nephews and retired to Jiti-kand. MANSUR-KHAN remained in Aqsu, whereas his brother KHALĪL-KHAN withdrew to the Semirechyé, where he became the head of the Qirghiz tribe [2].

This seems to be the earliest mention of the QIRGHIZ (i.e. the Qara-Qirghiz) in their present day territory, although, as we have seen, some of them must have moved into it before the tenth century [3]. Muhammad Haydar [4] sees no ethnic difference between the Qirghiz and the Mongols, and regards the former as a branch of the Mongol people which had separated from the main body. In his opinion the reason for their mutual hostility lay in the fact that the Mongols had been converted to Islam, whereas the Qirghiz had remained heathens.

Khalīl was soon joined by his brother SAʿĪD, who had been with his father in Mawarannahr [5] and had escaped from Uzbek captivity. He spent some time with his uncle in Jiti-kand, but, disgusted by the latter's misrule, fled to his brother. Khalīl and Saʿīd spent four years together, during which time they lived in open hostility with their uncle. To bring about their reconciliation, Mansūr came from Moghulistan and arranged a meeting between the uncle and the nephews, but the feud soon broke out anew. Mahmud was so hard pressed by his opponents that he returned to Mawarannahr and gave himself up to Shibani, on whose orders in 1508 he was killed together with his sons on the banks of the Sïr-Darya. After this Mansur gave

[1] *TR*, pp. 121-123. Cf. *Memoirs of Baber*, pp. 124-125. V. Zernov, II, 223.

[2] *TR*, pp. 181-182. [These are the true Qirghiz who before the Russian revolution were called Qara-Qirghiz.]

[3] [In his work *The Qirghiz*, published in Frunze in 1927 (reprinted in 1943) Barthold has put together the data on that people in more detail. On that occasion he also used the history of Kashgharia by Mahmūd Chūras, written before 1682. V. M.]

[4] *TR*, p. 148.

[5] *TR*, p. 148. *Memoirs of Baber*, p. 106. As at that time he was 13-14 years old, he must have been born towards 1490.

battle to his two brothers at Alma-Ata, i.e. near Verny[1], and defeated them. Khalīl fled to Farghana where the Uzbek governor Janibek had him killed. Saʿīd spent several months in the forest near the Narīn. There was nothing unusual in this step: according to Mongol ideas, a brave warrior was expected to spend some time in his youth roaming alone through mountains and forests, at a distance of one or two months' journey from inhabited places, living on game and dressing in the skins of the wild beasts he killed. The region chosen by Saʿīd was suffering badly from raiding parties sent out by Abu-Bakr of Kashghar. At the instance of his companions but against his own wishes, Saʿīd went to Farghana, which he reached two months after Mahmud's death and one month before Khalīl's. He too was imprisoned, but later escaped and arrived safely in Kabul where he entered Babur's service [2] at the end of the same year (1508).

So successful were the operations of Abu-Bakr's forces in the Semirechyé, under the command of Amir Valī, that Mansur khan had to leave the country taking the Qirghiz with him to Chalīsh (Qarashar). A considerable number of them were killed, but some succeeded in returning to Moghulistan where Abu-Bakr allowed them to continue their nomad life on the southern shore of the Issik-kul [3]. Northern Semirechyé was ruled by the Qazakh khan QĀSIM who died in 924/1518. His winter camp was on the Qaratal. About 1510 he defeated Shibani. In 1512 he took Talas and Sayram and plundered the neighbourhood of Tashkent. Muhammad Haydar estimates the number of the Qazakhs at that time at one million. According to Babur, Qāsim had 300,000 troops. In the autumn of 1513, a meeting took place on the banks of the Chu between Qāsim khan and Saʿīd who was then in Babur's service. Qāsim, who was over sixty-five, received Saʿīd with great honours, and the latter remembered to the end of his days this reception in the camp of the steppe chief [4].

[1] In another passage the battle is said to have taken place at Charīn-Chalaq near the Charīn river.

[2] *TR*, pp. 125, 181-191, 222.

[3] *TR*, pp. 125. 319-320.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 273-277. V. Zernov, II, 150-167. 230-260.

In 1514 SAʿĪD left Babur and resolved to conquer Kashgharia. With only 4,700 men he invaded that country from the Semirechyé (apparently by the Turughart pass) and opened hostilities against the powerful Abu-Bakr. Despite the incredible audacity of his enterprise, he was completely successful [1], and his conquest of Kashghar and Yarkand brought peace to Eastern Turkestan. A final reconciliation between Mansur and Saʿīd took place in 1516, in Arbat, between Aqsu and Kucha. Mansur continued to rule Turfan and Qarashar while remaining the suzerain of the whole of Eastern Turkestan. Another brother, EMIL-KHOJA [2], received Uch-Turfan and Aqsu; the third brother, BABAJAQ-SULTAN, received Bahi and Kucha. Thus trade relations were rendered safe, and no taxes were levied from the merchants [3], on the entire stretch between the towns of Hami (in China) and Andijān (in Farghana).

From Kashghar Saʿīd extended his sway over Southern Semirechyé. The Qirghiz MUHAMMAD, who had rendered important services to the khan during his war with Abu-Bakr, was put at the head of his people. Before his meeting with Mansur, Saʿīd, whose health was impaired by immoderate feasting, spent the summer in Moghulistan, on the advice of his physicians. In the autumn of 1516 he marched into the Semirechyé to resume the war with the Uzbeks in Farghana. On the shores of the Chatïr-kul he met his brother Babajaq. In the Arpa valley all the brothers, with the exception of Mansur, organised a great hunt and spent the winter in ceaseless feasting. Saʿīd seemed to have forgotten the original aim of his expedition.

Meanwhile, the Qirghiz under the command of Muhammad were constantly raiding Turkestan, Tashkent and Sayram. Muhammad made prisoner Shibani's cousin Abdullah, the ruler of Turkestan, but later released him with presents. This incident led to a war between him and Saʿīd, although elsewhere [4] Mu-

[1] *TR*, p. 304 sq.

[2] Thus in all probability instead of *Aiman Khoja* of the English translation. The final *l* and *n* in Muslim MSS. are often confused.

[3] *TR*, pp. 126-127, 134, 343.

[4] *TR*, p. 134.

hammad Haydar argues that Saʿīd was acting as the protector of the Muslims against Muhammad who had devastated Muslim lands. In the autumn of 1517, Saʿīd marched out of Kashghar, while Emil-Khoja proceeded from Aqsu across the Sarigh-At-Akhur pass (lit. "manger of the yellow horse"). The two forces linked up in the region of Kāfir-Yarï, from whence Saʿīd continued down the Barskaun valley, and Emil-Khoja down the Juuki valley. Muhammad was encamped near the mouth of the Barskaun; his men betrayed him and he was taken to Eastern Turkestan. His herds of horses and camels and flocks of sheep became the booty of the soldiers. All the Qirghiz captives were freed. By the beginning of the winter the khan was back in Kashghar [1].

A new expedition was undertaken in 1552. This time again Muhammad Haydar ascribes to the khan the intention of putting an end to the Qirghiz raids on Muslim lands, but in the same breath he explains the real aim of the expedition: the grazing grounds of Eastern Turkestan could not feed the herds and flocks of the Mongols. The khan's thirteen year old son RASHĪD (Abd al-Rashīd) was nominally appointed to lead the army. He was accompanied by Muhammad, who by then had been set free and put in charge of his Qirghiz. To consolidate their power, the Mongols established a permanent camp in the Qochqar valley. The majority of the Qirghiz submitted to Muhammad, though some of them fled to the remotest corners of the country. In winter, the khan in person arrived in Qochqar and on his orders Rashid and Muhammad went "to the farthest confines of Moghulistan" where they succeeded in gathering the scattered clans of the Qirghiz. From that time onwards the khan yearly made a short stay in Qochqar to uphold his son's authority. During one of these visits, in 1524, he received in Qochqar the ruler of Northern Semirechyé, the Qazakh khan TĀHIR, nephew and second successor of Qāsim [2]. The latter was seeking the friendship of the Mongols against his own subjects who hated him for his cruelty, as well as against the Uzbeks and the NOGHAYS

[1] *TR.* pp. 341-351.

[2] His immediate successor had been his son Mumash-khan.

(Mangïts). The reception awarded him in the Mongol camp surpassed all his expectations. He gave his sister in marriage to Rashīd.

Muhammad was again accused of intriguing with the Uzbeks, and sent to Kashghar where he remained till Saʿīd's death. The task of maintaining order in the country was entrusted to the historian MUHAMMAD HAYDAR who admits that his efforts were unavailing, and that the majority of the Qirghiz went over to Tāhir. By the end of the summer of 1525 the khan, who was then on the shores of the Issik-kul, heard that the Qalmuqs were approaching the frontiers of Moghulistan. Somewhat earlier, in the winter of 1523-4, Rashīd had led a successful expedition against them and thereby earned the honour of being called *ghāzī* (i.e. warrior against the infidels). Now the khan, leaving his family on the Issik-kul [1], set forth against the Qalmuqs and reached Qābilqālār (or *Qabilqalqa), at ten marches from the Issik-kul. Here he recieved the news of the death of SUYUNCHUQ, the khan of Tashkent. This event opened up possibilities of renewing the war against the Uzbeks, and Saʿīd-khan hastened back to the Issik-kul. Through Qonur-Ölen he invaded Farghana, but having achieved no marked success turned away to Moghulistan. He joined his family at Utluq and soon after was in Kashghar.

During the next winter, Tāhir established his camp near Qochqar where he was immediately joined by half the Qirghiz. Rashīd was compelled to withdraw to Atbash, and in the beginning of 1526 was joined there by Saʿīd-khan in person. The Qazakhs crossed the whole of the Semirechyé unopposed, as far as Qash and Küngez. The remaining Qirghiz, who were at their winter quarters near Qochqar and Jumghal, and had not had time to join Tahir, were taken by the Mongols to Atbash. The daughter of Yūnus, who was Tahīr's step-mother and was living in Kashghar, was sent to negotiate with him, but the result of her embassy is unknown. When Saʿīd-khan, who was on the Aq-say, learnt about a dispute between the Qazakhs and the Qirghiz, he set out against them, reached Aq-Quyash and from

[1] Probably on the above mentioned island [more likely a peninsula].

there went on to Arïshlar. Further on, the Mongols came across the dead bodies of the army of Babajaq of Kucha, defeated by the Qirghiz. It was probably this event that moved the Mongols to evacuate the Semirechyé and to content themselves with driving away 100,000 Qirghiz sheep. The expedition got the name of "the sheep campaign" (*qoy cheriki*). Early in the spring of 1527, Tāhir appeared on the Atbash and led away the Qirghiz together with the herds of horses left behind by the Mongols [1].

After the withdrawal of the Mongols, the Semirechyé remained in the possession of the Qazakhs and the Qirghiz. The good understanding between the two peoples was short-lived. Already in 1526 the Qazakhs abandoned Tahir after he had killed his brother Abd al-Qāsim, but the Qirghiz remained faithful to him. By 1529 about 20,000 or 30,000 Qazakhs had again gathered round Tāhir. The date of his death is unknown; according to Muhammad Haydar, he died in poor circumstances. After him it is unlikely that any other khan held sway over the whole of the Qazakh people, although Muhammad Haydar names Tāhir's brother BOYDASH as his successor [2].

Mongol power in the Semirechyé was re-established for a short time unter Saʿīd's successor RASHĪD (1533-1570). In order to fight the common foe, Rashīd concluded an alliance with the Uzbeks of Mawarannahr, who were also warring with the Qazakhs because of their raids on Tashkent. From the north-west too, the Qazakhs were attacked by the MANGĪTS (Noghays). In 944/1537-8, Rashīd inflicted a crushing defeat on the Qazakhs, in which TUGHUM khan, Tahir's brother, and thirty-seven sultans were killed. In the more remote countries the rumour spread that the Qazakh people had been completely exterminated. Following his father's example, Rashīd left his son ABD AL-LATĪF in the Semirechyé. The Mongols continued to act in close alliance with the Uzbeks, and in 951/1544-5 a meeting took place on the shores of the Issik-kul between Rashīd and NAURŪZ-AHMAD (Baraq), khan of Tashkent.

[1] *TR*, pp. 367-379. V.-Zernov, II, 192-202.
[2] *TR*, pp. 273, 379, 388. V.-Zernov, II, 201. 219.

Nevertheless the Qazakhs soon regained the upper hand in the Semirechyé. Rashīd died in 978/1570-1 and was succeeded by his son Abd al-Latīf. The latter was killed [1] in a battle with the then khan of the Qazakhs and the Qirghiz, HAQQ-NAZAR, son of Qāsim. A. Jenkinson reports that about 1558 the Qazakhs were again treatening Tashkent, while the Qirghiz were threatening Kashghar. Between them, these two peoples cut off all overland trade routes between China and Western Asia [2].

## THE QALMUQS [3]

Very little is known of the situation in the Semirechyé in the second half of the sixteenth century, after the final overthrow of Mongol domination, though some interesting records are found in a Turkish work written in 990/1582, the unique copy of which belongs to the library of the University of Leyden and has not yet been properly studied [4]. The author, Sayfi, states that the Qalmuqs were still developing their successes in Central Asia. He calls their chief ALTAN-KHAN. This is probably the powerful ruler of the Tümet tribe who by that time had created a vast empire in the eastern part of Central Asia

[1] Abd al-Latīf was then 29 years old, but the exact date of his death is not known.

[2] *TR*, pp. 146, 273; V.-Zernov. II, 220, 274, 330-333. *Notices et extraits*, XIII, part. 1, p. 228, and XIV, part. I, p. 487. [ A. Jenkinson was Chief Factor of the Muscovy Company. With the support of Tsar Ivan the Terrible, he visited (1558-9) Khiva and Bukhara to explore opportunities for trade. V. M.]

[3] Principal sources: Iakinf. *Historical survey of the Oyrats, or Qalmuqs* (in Russian), SPb. 1854; *Carte de la Dzoungarie dressée par le Suédois Renat*, SPb. 1881 (ed. Imp. Russ. Geogr. Soc.); Zapiski of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, ethnographical section, X, 1882-88, which contains the Travel diary of Unkovsky, with foreword and notes by Prof. N. I. Veselovsky, and an article by Prof. A. M. Pozdneyev, *Notes on the history of the Zungar Qalmuqs* (in Russian); Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, part I, London 1876.

[4] MS. No. 917, ff. 12, 14-16, 21-23. (Selections from Sayfi were published in French translation by Schéfer, as an Annex to *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale*, par Abdul-Kerim Boukhary. trad. par Ch. Schéfer, Paris 1876, p. 292. [Cf. P. Kahle, *Eine islamische Quelle über China um 1500*, in *Acta Orientalia*, 1933, XII, p. 91-110].

and conquered the Oyrats [1]. The Qazakh khan TEVEKKUL [2], son of Shighay and nephew of Tāhir [3], raided the Qalmuq country. This led to a devastating irruption of the infidels into the Qazakh country. Tevekkül fled to Tashkent, where Naurūz was still khan (d. 1556), and offered him an alliance against the enemy, but Naurūz-Aḥmad replied that even ten kings like themselves would be unable to cope with the Qalmuqs.

The author goes on to give a short description of the Qirghiz and the Qazakhs. "The Qirghiz, he writes, are related to the Mongols. They have no king, but only begs whom they call *qashqa*. They are neither infidels, nor Muslims. They live among steep mountains in which there are passes. If some king leads an army against them, they send their families into the heart of the mountains and then occupy the passes to let no one through. By using the yada [4] stone they make snow fall on the attacking army and produce such cold that the warriors can move neither arms, nor legs. Then they launch their attack and defeat their enemies. They do not bury their dead, but place the bodies in coffins on tall trees. There the bones remain until they rot and fall apart [5]. The neighbours of the Qirghiz are the Qazakhs; they number 200,000 families. They are Muslims and follow the rite of the Imam-Aʿẓam (Abū-Ḥanīfa). They have many sheep and camels. Their dwellings are placed on carts. Their coats are made of sheep's wool, which is dyed in various colours and becomes like satin. These coats are sent to Bukhara and are bought there at the price of satin ones, so handsome and fine are they. Raincoats are made from the same wool. The wool is quite water-proof. This quality is due to the properties of some herbs that grow there, on which the sheep feed".

[1] Howorth, *o.c.*, p. 418.

[2] [Possibly some Turkish name given an Islamic appearance. In Russian: *Tefkel*].

[3] V.-Zernov, II, 367.

[4] This stone, according to the general belief of the Turks, could produce snow, rain and storms.

[5] This information must have been borrowed by the author from written sources (cf. *Report*, p. 111) and could hardly apply to the Qirghiz of his day.

In 1594 Tevekkül sent an ambassador to Moscow offering his allegiance to TSAR FEODOR. In the files relating to this embassy, the khan is called "Qazakh and Qalmuq king", from which it can be inferred that some Qalmuq tribes [1] had submitted to him. In 1598, the year of his death, Tevekkül took the towns of Tashkent and Yasï (or Turkestan), which remained in the possession of the Qazakhs down to 1723. According to Veliaminov-Zernov, the division of the Qazakhs into three hordes [2] is connected with this event. In the seventeenth century, Yasï and Tashkent [3] were the principal centres of the Qazakhs, while in the mean time they were being gradually pushed out of the Semirechyé by the Qalmuqs. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the latter invaded Khwarazm [4], and reached the banks of the Volga [5]. Meanwhile the khan of the Choros, KHARA-KHULA, was endeavouring to reunite the whole of the Oyrat league; towards the end of his life he succeeded in this plan in spite of the stubborn resistance of the feudal princes (*tayji,* properly *tayiji*). He was succeeded in 1634 by his son BATUR, who took the title of *khung-tayji.* Under him the Oyrats, or Dzunghar ("those of the left wing") received an appropriate organisation. In 1610 a quriltay was convened in his ordu, and it was attended even by the rulers of those Qalmuqs who had migrated into Russia [6]. At this quriltay the famous Qalmuq "code of the steppe" was proclaimed. The grazing grounds of the khung-tayji were originally situated near the upper Irtish, somewhat above Lake Zaysan [7]. Batur made war, persistently but with varying success, on the Qazakh khan ISHIM, brother and successor of Tevekkül [8].

Batur's death in 1653 weakened the unity of the Oyrat league. Russian sources name as his successor his son SENGE, but

[1] V.-Zernov, II, 104.
[2] *Ibid.,* II, 345 sq.
[3] *Ibid.,* II, 382 sq.
[4] Aboul-Ghazi, trad. Desmaisons, p. 296.
[5] *ZVO,* III, 369.
[6] Iakinf, pp. 50, 62.
[7] *Zap. Geogr. Obshch. Ethnogr.,* X, fasc. I, p. 19.
[8] V.-Zernov, II, 378-379.

according to A. M. Pozdneyev [1], "unlike his father he never was the suzerain of the Oyrat league. Some six or seven years after Batur khung-tayji's death he may have become the ruler of the Dzungar tribes, but never more than that". Several other princes bore the title of khung-tayji simultaneously with Senge. Batur's eldest son, SETSEN KHAN, led a nomad life on the upper reaches of the Irtish.

In 1671 Senge was killed [2]. His brother GHALDAN-BOSHOQTU arrived from Tibet, and soon hostilities broke out between him and his brother Setsen khan. In 1676 Setsen khan was defeated near the Talqi pass and Lake Sayram, and forced to submit to Ghaldan. Ghaldan, like his predecessor, made war on the Qazakhs and the Qirghiz. In 1681 and 1683 he led an expedition against Sayram, and in 1682, 1684 and 1685 fought the Qirghiz and Farghanians. In 1684 the town of Sayram was captured and destroyed by his general RABDAN [3]. From then onwards the domination of the Qalmuqs in the Semirechyé remained uncontested, and their numerous wars with the Qazakhs, Mongols and Chinese had no connection with that province. Ghaldan was apparently the first Qalmuq khan to pitch his tents mainly in the Ili valley, though he sometimes spent the winter on the banks of the Irtish. Probably from that time, the present-day districts of the Ili and Qur-qara-usu came to be regarded as the khung-tayji's private domain [4]. According to Unkovsky's account [5], the Burut (Qirghiz) were the only Turkish people still leading a nomad life near the Issik-kul in the eighteenth century.

In his desire to unify his kingdom, Ghaldan persecuted his relatives, but his nephew, TSEVAN-RABDAN, managed to escape to Turfan in 1678. When Ghaldan set out on an expedition against Mongolia in 1688, Tsevan-Rabdan returned to his country, either in that year or the next. He settled down in the Borotal valley, but gradually extended his power over the whole

[1] *Zap. G.O.E.*, X, fasc. II, p. 245.
[2] Thus according to Pozdneyev, p. 247.
[3] *Zap. G.O.*, X, fasc. II, pp. 248-250.
[4] Iakinf, p. 135.
[5] P. 193.

country [1]. Ghaldan never returned to his kingdom; his military operations in Mongolia were so disastrous that in 1697 he committed suicide [2].

After Ghaldan's death Tsevan-Rabdan, now sole ruler of the kingdom, became as formidable an enemy to the Chinese, as his uncle had been in his day. Peace with China was outwardly maintained down to 1714, when Tsevan-Rabdan opened hostilities by sacking Hami [3]. In the same year, the Emperor KANG-HSI promulgated an edict, in which he enumerated Tsevan-Rabdan's offences and summoned him to restore to the Dzunghar princes all the rights and lands of which he had robbed them, and for that purpose to convoke them to a diet, in which Chinese delegates should take part. Among other things, the Emperor insisted that the "grazing grounds of Alaq" (Ala-tau) should be handed over to the Khoyt, and proposed for the khung-tayji's share "a small tract of land on the Irtish". Tsevan-Rabdan could not possibly accede to these demands, and so he opened hostilities. The Chinese were well aware of the weak spots in the Qalmuq kingdom and knew that it was constantly threatened by the Qazakhs and the Buruts (Qirghiz), for which reason strong forces had to be concentrated on the frontiers with these peoples. The Chinese envoys claimed in their reports that the Qalmuqs, for fear of the Chinese attack, were migrating in large numbers down the Ili [4].

The Russian government, availing itself of the difficulties of the Qalmuqs, sought to win them over to Russian allegiance. This offer was brought to the Qalmuqs by the Cossack chief IVAN CHEREDOV who visited them in 1719 [5]. Somewhat earlier, in 1717, the Tobol nobleman VELYANOV paid his respects to Tsevan-Rabdan on the banks of the Kharkir, near Muzart, taking leave of him only in the following year when the khung-tayji's camp stood at its usual winter quarters near Khorghos, at

[1] *Zap. G.O.*, fasc. III, pp. 251-253.
[2] Iakinf, p. 87.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 90.
[4] *Zap. G.O.*, fasc. III, pp. 260-263.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

the foot of the Talqi mountain [1]. We possess far more detailed information on the embassy of CAPTAIN UNKOVSKY. In November 1722, this officer arrived at the camp of the khung-tayji, on the southern bank of the Ili, a few miles East of the Charin. He stayed at the court of the Qalmuq ruler till September 1723, accompanying him from one camping place to another up to the rivers Tüp and Jarghalan. This embassy produced no political results, especially as the death of the Emperor K'ang-hsi in 1722 had lessened the threat from the Chinese side. Moreover, in 1723 the Qalmuqs gained an important victory over the Qazakhs and occupied Sayram, Tashkent and Yasī (Turkestan) [2].

According to Unkovsky, the Qalmuqs were able to muster 100,000 warriors. The khung-tayji, who was very popular with his subjects, undertook nothing without consulting the *zaysangs*, i.e. the heads of the different clans. TSEREN-DUNDUQ, chief zaysang and cousin of the khung-tayji, camped on the banks of the Lepsa and the Qaratal. Some thirty years previously the Qalmuqs had had no agriculture, but at the time of Unkovsky's visit, not only the captive Bukharans (Sarts), but also many Qalmuqs tilled the soil, and the cultivated area was constantly growing. The Sarts had a small town near the mouth of the Khorghos. The Qalmuqs traded with the Russians, the Chinese (in peace time) and the Tanguts, as well as with India and Mawarannahr [3].

The Qalmuqs owed much of their military and cultural successes to the Swedish sergeant RENAT [4], captured by them in the winter of 1715-6, together with the escort intended for the expedition of BUCHHOLZ, which in 1715 had been sent up the Irtish. Renat remained in the Qalmuq country till 1733. He taught them the art of casting cannon and various handicrafts, and even organised a printing shop [5]. On his return to his country he compiled a map of Dzungharia on which are marked

[1] Renat, *Carte de la Dzoungarie*, p. 11.

[2] *Zap. G.O.*, fasc. III, p. 193. Levshin, *Description of the Qirghiz-Qaysaq hordes and steppes* (in Russian), SPb. 1832, II, 69.

[3] *Zap. G.O.*, fasc. III, pp. 30, 194-196.

[4] [Renat had been taken prisoner by the Russians at Poltava.]

[5] *Carte de Renat*, p. 5.

in detail all the camping sites of the nomads. These, as could be expected, were mostly situated in foot-hills, on the upper courses of rivers. In the Semirechye such camping sites were: 1. along the Ala-tau of the Semirechye and the upper courses of the rivers flowing into Lake Balkhash; 2. between Altïn-Emil and Qoybïn, to the North of the Ili between Kök-tal and Kök-terek; 3. along the northern bank of the Kegen and from the Charïn to the East along the northern slope of the Ketmen mountains; 4. on the upper course of the Chïlïq and its tributaries; 5. along the banks of the Tüp and the southern shore of the Issik-kul; near the western corner of the lake and on its northern shore, between the rivers Qoy-su and Aq-su; 6. in the valley of the Great Kebin and on the upper course of the rivers flowing into the Chu, up to Qaraghata. Renat places the principal camp of the khung-tayji to the South-East of the Talqi pass, near the present day Qulja.

Tsevan-Rabdan was succeeded by his son GHALDAN-TSEREN (1727-1745), who carried on the war with the Chinese and, by the peace treaty of 1732, lost nearly half of his possessions [1]. In the West he succeeded in extending his power over the Qazakhs, although they were nominally regarded as Russian subjects [2]. The affairs of the Qazakhs caused the Russians to send several envoys to Ghaldan-Tseren. One of these, the *platz-major* UGRYUMOV (1732-3) accompanied Ghaldan-Tseren from camp to camp. In April and May they moved from Kojiger down the river Ili; at the end of May and during the summer months, along the Temirlik, Kegen, Qarqara and Tekes; and from September down to the last days of March, along the river Ili; "at first downstream, then again upstream, to Kochigir (Kojiger) where it is his custom to remain till May" [3].

Ghaldan was succeeded by his son TSEVAN-DORJI (1745-50), who was killed by his brother LAMA-DORJI. Amidst the disturbances that followed, Ghaldan-Tseren's nephew AMURSANA rose to eminence. With the help of the Qazakhs, he occupied the

[1] Iakinf, p. 101.
[2] Levshin, II, 145-157.
[3] *Zap. G.O.*, fasc. II, p. 234.

banks of the Emil and the upper Irtish, and in 1754 submitted to the Chinese and invoked their protection against his enemies. In 1755 two great Chinese armies were sent to the West. Practically without any bloodshed, they subjugated the whole of the Qalmuq kingdom. Amursana revolted in the same year, but was defeated by the Chinese, and fled to the Qazakhs. For a short time in 1757 he reappeared on the Ili, but was compelled to flee because the Qazakh khan ABLAY intended to betray him to the Chinese. He finally sought refuge on Russian territory where he died in the same year from small-pox. Thus ended the existence of the last nomad empire in Central Asia. In 1758 the Chinese sent another army into the country which wrought hideous slaughter among the Qalmuqs [1].

After the fall of the Dzunghar kingdom, the Qazakhs and the Qirghiz returned to the Semirechye, where for some time they were looked upon as Chinese subjects. The fortified line of the Chinese roughly corresponded to the present-day frontier between China and Russia, and until Russia had established her power in the country, the Qazakhs and the Qirghiz were in effect independent [2].

[1] *Zap. G.O.*, fasc. II, p. 234.
[2] Iakinf, pp. 109-125.

# APPENDIX

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Second century B.C. The Wu-sun occupy the Semirechyé and the Sê people withdraw to the south.
Circa 105 B.C. Chinese embassy to the Wu-sun.
Circa 51 B.C. The Wu-sun split up into two states.
11 B.C. Part of the Wu-sun migrate to the North-West.
1 B.C. The Wu-sun king Ichimi arrives at the Chinese capital.
Beginning of the fifth century A.D. The Wu-sun ousted from the plains of the Semirechyé by the Jou-jan.
425. A Wu-sun embassy to China.
436. A Chinese embassy to the Wu-sun.
Sixth century. The Semirechyé conquered by the Turks.
581. The Turkish empire breaks up into two states.
Seventh century. Journey of Hsüan-tsang. Oldest reports on agriculture in the Semirechyé.
657. The Semirechyé submits to the Chinese.
Circa 740. Fall of the Western Turkish kingdom.
748. Suyab destroyed by the Chinese.
751. The Chinese defeated on the Talas.
766. Suyab occupied by the Qarluq.
Circa 940. The Chu valley conquered by the Qarakhanids.
960. The Semirechyé Turks converted to Islam.
992. Death of Boghra-khan Harun.
1017-1018. The Semirechyé invaded by eastern nomads.
1025. Tughan-khan dislodged from the Semirechyé.
1031-1032. Death of Qadir-khan Yusuf. Arslan-khan Sulayman.
1043. Conversion to Islam of the nomads on the Qirghiz (Qazakh) steppes.
1056. Arslan-khan deposed.
1057-1058. Death of Boghra-khan Muhammad.
1059-1074/5. Toghril Qara-khan Yusuf.
1080. The first poem in Turkish, the *Qutadghu-bilik*, composed.
1074/5-1102/3. Boghra-khan Harun.

1090. Atbash plundered by the Kashgharians.
1102. Defeat and death of Qadir-khan Jibrail.
1125. The Qara-Khitay migrate to the West.
Circa 1130. Their defeat in Eastern Turkestan.
1137. Their victory at Khojand.
1141. Victory on the Qatvan steppe.
1142. Death of the first gurkhan.
1176-1190. Patriarch Elias III: Nestorian metropoly in Kashghar and the Semirechyé.
1208-1209. Küchlük arrives in the Semirechyé.
1210. Defeat of the Qara-Khitay at Uzgand and at Talas.
1211. The northern part of the Semirechyé submits to the Mongols.
1212. The gurkhan deposed. Accession of Küchlük.
1218. Conquest of the Semirechye by the Mongols.
1219. Journey of Ye-lé Ch'u-t'sai.
1220. Journey of Wu-ku-sun.
1221-1223. Journey of Ch'ang Ch'un.
1227. Death of Chingiz-khan.
1229-1241. Ögedey.
1229. Abu-Yaqub Yusuf Sakkāki killed.
1242. Death of Chaghatay.
1242-1246. Khara-Hulagu.
1246-1248. Güyük.
1246-1251. Yesü-Mönke.
1246. Journey of Plano Carpini.
1248. Batu in the Semirechyé.
1251-1259. Mönke.
1251. Destruction of the Chaghatay ulus.
1251-1260. *Orqïna's government.
1253. Journey of Rubruquis.
1254-1255. Hulagu's campaign.
1255. Journey of King Haython.
1259. Embassy of Chang-tê.
1260. Election of Khubilay and Arïq-böge.
1260-1265/6. Alghuy.
1260. Death of the minister Habash-'Amīd.

1262. Victory of Alghuy near Lake Sayram.
1263. His defeat in the Ili valley.
1264. Arïq-böge's retreat.
1266. Election of Mubārak-shah. Arrival of Boraq (*Baraq). Defeat and deposition of Mubārak-shah.
1268. Victory of Khaydu over Boraq on the Sïr-Darya.
1269. Quriltay on the Talas.
1271. Death of Boraq.
1282. Peace in the Chaghatay possessions restored.
1301. Death of Khaydu.
1303. Chapar proclaimed khan. Ambassador of Bayan in Baghdad.
1304. Plan of federation of the Mongol states.
1305. War between Chapar and Tuva.
1306-1307. Death of Tuva.
1308. Death of Künjek.
1308-1309. Taliqu.
1310-1318. Esen-buqa.
1315. Closer relations between Esen-buqa and Uzbek.
1318-1326. Kebek.
1326. Ilchigedey. Successes of Catholic propaganda in Central Asia. Durra-Timur.
1326-1334. Tarmashirin.
1333. Journey of Ibn-Battūta.
1334. Buzan.
1334-1338. Jenkshi. Catholic missionaries in Almaliq.
1338-1339. Plague in the Semirechyé.
1339. Persecution of Christians.
1347. Power of the Chaghatay khans in Mawarannahr destroyed.
1348-1362/3. Tuqluq-Timur.
1360 He conquers Mawarannahr.
1370-1371. Timur reaches Qochqar.
1375. Timur's expedition against the Semirechyé.
1376. New expedition of Timur. Defeat of Qamar al-din.
1377. New expedition of Timur. Qamar al-din defeated in the Buam gorge.
1383. Invasion by Turkish amirs.

1389-1399. Khizr-khoja.
1389. Timur's expedition to the Irtish and Yulduz.
1390. Expedition of Turkish amirs to the Irtish.
1397. Timur marries Khizr-khoja's daughter.
1399. Internecine strife in Moghulistan.
1399-1408. Shamᶜi-Jahān.
1404. A part of the Semirechyé subjected by Timur.
1405. Timur's death.
1407. Embassy of Shamᶜi-Jahān to China.
1408-1416. Muhammad-khan.
1416-1418. Naqshi-Jahān.
1418-1421. Vays-khan.
1420. Internecine strife in Moghulistan. Shahrukh's ambassadors cross the Semirechyé.
1421. Accession of Shir Muhammad-khan.
1425. Ulugh-beg's invasion.
1428. Death of Vays-khan in the battle with Satuq-khan.
1428-1434. Feuds in Moghulistan.
1434-1462. Esen-buqa.
1434-1456. Yunus-khan's residence in Persia.
1456-1462. Yunus-khan in Jitikand.
1462. Yunus-khan's accession in the western part of Moghulistan.
1469. Death of Sultan Abu-Saᶜīd.
Circa 1472. Unification of Moghulistan under Yunus.
1472. The Qalmuq invade the Semirechyé.
1482. Defection of the majority of the Mongols from Yunus.
1487-1508. Mahmud-khan.
1503. Defeat of Mahmud-khan and his brother Ahmad-khan in the battle with Shïbani. Death of Ahmad.
1504-1508. Khalil as the chief of the Qirghiz.
1508. Battle at Alma-ata between Mansur and his brothers Khalil and Saᶜīd.
1513. Meeting between Saᶜīd-khan and Qāsim-khan Qazaq on the banks of the Chu.
1514. Conquest of Kashgharia by Saᶜīd-khan.
1516. Peace in Eastern Turkestan restored. First expedition of Saᶜīd-khan into the Semirechyé.

1517. Expedition of Saʿīd-khan and his brother Emil-khoja against Muhammad Qirghiz.
1522. The Semirechyé submits to the Mongols. The Mongol camp in the Qochqar valley.
1524. Meeting between Saʿīd-khan and Tāhir-khan Qazakh.
1525. The Qalmuqs invade the Semirechyé. Saʿīd-khan's expedition against them. Retreat of the Mongols towards Atbash.
1526. Retreat of the Mongols from the Semirechyé. Tāhir-khan abandoned by the Qazakhs.
1525. Tahir-khan on the Atbash.
1529. Reconciliation of part of the Qazakhs with Tahir-khan.
1533-1565/6. Rashīd-khan the Mongol.
1537-1538. His victory over the Qazakhs. Mongol domination in the Semirechyé restored.
1544-1545. Meetings between Rashid-khan and Naurūz-Ahmad of Tashkent on the shores of the Issik-kul.
1552. Conquest of the Oyrats by Altan-khan.
1552-1556. Victory of the Qalmuqs over Tevekkül-khan Qazakh.
1594. Tevekkül-khan's embassy to Moscow.
1598. Conquest by him of Turkestan and Tashkent. His death.
1634-1653. Batur-khung-tayji.
1640. Publication of the Qalmuq code.
1671. Senge assassinated.
1676. Victory of Ghaldan-Boshoqtu-khan over Setsen-khan.
1681. Ghaldan Boshoktu-khan's expedition against Sayram.
1683. His expedition against Sayram. Expedition against the Qirghiz and Farghana.
1684-1685. Destruction of Sayram. Expeditions against the Qirghiz and Farghana.
1688. Expedition into Mongolia. Tsevan-Rabdan in Dzungharia.
1697. Death of Ghaldan.
1697-1727. Tsevan-Rabdan.
1714. War between the Qalmuqs and the Chinese. Edict of the Emperor Kʿang-hsi.
1716-1733. The Swede Renat in Dzungharia.

1717-1718. The nobleman Velyanov at the khung-tayji's court.
1719. Cheredov's embassy.
1722. Death of the Emperor K'ang-hsi.
1722-1723. Embassy of Captain Unkovsky.
1723. Conquest by the Qalmuqs of Sayram, Turkestan and Tashkent.
1727-1745. Ghaldan-Tseren.
1732-1733. Ugryumov at the khung-tayji's court.
1739. Peace between the Qalmuqs and the Chinese.
1745-1750. Tsevan-Dorji.
1754. Amursana submits to the Chinese.
1755. Amursana's revolt. His flight to the Qazakh.
1757. Death of Amursana in Tobolsk.
1758. Devastation of Dzungharia by the Chinese. Extermination of the Qalmuqs.

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